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THE VICISSITUDES OF ÂRYAN CIVILIZATION IN INDIA.

By the same Author.

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THE

Vicissitudes of Âryan Civilization

IN INDIA.

An Essay,

WHICH TREATS OF THE HISTORY OF THE VEDIC AND BUDDHISTIC POLITIES, EXPLAINING THEIR ORIGIN, PROSPERITY, AND DECLINE.

BY

M. M. KUNTE, B.A.,

HEAD MASTER OF THE POONA HIGH SCHOOL.

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MOTTO:

There is a glorious future before the Âryas in India, now that their activities, dormant for centuries and threatening to become petrified, are likely to be revived and quickened by the ennobling and elevating many-sided civilization which the Western Âryas have developed, and which is brought to bear upon them.

To

JAMES BRAITHWAITE PEILE, Esq., C.S., M.A.,

ACTING CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY
WHO, WHEN DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ORIGINATED,
ELABORATED, AND WORKED A SCHEME OF NIGHT-SCHOOLS,
AND GAVE AN IMPULSE TO HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION.

AS A TOKEN

OF

APPRECIATION OF HIS SYMPATHIES WITH THE
NATIVES OF THIS COUNTRY,

This Essay,

ON

THE VICISSITUDES OF ÂRYAN CIVILIZATION IN INDIA,

is Dedicated

BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THIS work on the VICISSITUDES OF ÂRYAN CIVILIZATION IN INDIA was written under great and special difficulties. The advertisement announcing a prize reached me about the middle of the month of May. About the beginning of June this work was begun, and as sheets after sheets were written, they were handed over to an *amanuensis*. The services of a good writer who could understand what he wrote, could not be procured in Poona. The work was completed in December and sent off to Europe through the Italian Legation in London. Thus I could obtain only six months for the collection, collation of materials and the composition of the work. But during the time, this was not the only work I had to do. I was engaged, for five hours a day, in administering a large school consisting of more than 500 young men. The administration of a large High School, and this in a town like Poona, is not an easy task. Again, I had already undertaken editing and annotating on the systems of Indian philosophy in my "Studies in Indian Philosophy," a monthly periodical. This engaged me from day to day at least for three hours. When these circumstances are examined, the reader will realize the difficulties of my position. I do not, however, crave the indulgence of the reader. All I have to say is placed before him with such evidence as I can produce. I am compelled to differ in some points from such German scholars as

Goldstücker and others—a fact which I cannot help. But the reader can examine the evidence upon which my statements are based. Though I may have failed to establish my conclusions, I may safely believe that on that account the service to the cause of Indian history cannot be undone. As yet, Indians themselves have not undertaken seriously the investigation of important historical problems connected with their own country. But they have a stand-point of their own—a stand-point fixed by their antecedents, and the traditions of their country, a stand-point supported by overwhelming evidence, and a stand-point, which at once encourages and gratifies patriotism. From this stand-point, the strange revolutions—through which India has passed during the thousands of years over which her history extends—have been reviewed: the principles and conditions of their origin and development have been analyzed, and the consequences which inevitably followed them, have been traced with that anxious care and accuracy which scientific history demands. The reader will see from the foot-notes how the materials of this history have been sifted, and how what is essential is separated from what is merely accidental. Of course, there are defects in this history as it is offered to the Public. But the hope is entertained that the ancient history of India will be in time taken up by a competent son of India, and that full justice will be done to it. And in this hope there is ample consolation under the circumstances in which India is placed at present.

1*st April* 1880. M. M. K.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE area which this Essay upon the VICISSITUDES OF ÂRYAN CIVILIZATION IN INDIA covers is really vast. Before the Âryas invaded India, the country was inhabited by races philologically and religiously allied with one another to a considerable extent. Their history comprising important epochs—their subjugation by the Âryas, changes of their language, religion, social polity, and customs, their re-actionary movements, their incorporation in the Âryan society, their revival under the Buddhistic preachers, their suppression during the Brâhmanical revival, and their Brâhmanization—is in one sense co-extensive with the history of the Âryas, a history comprising also important epochs—their establishment in India after a long and continued struggle for centuries, the development of their activities by the struggle, their prosperity and the consolidation of their power, their internecine dissensions, their expeditions into the different parts of India, their expansion and their attempts at the Âryanization of the enterprising aboriginal races, the culmination of their energy and powers of expansion and development. Buddhism was a revolution caused by the energy of the aboriginal races; for it was a movement of nations in adversity against a race in prosperity. The conquering race is always anxious to institute and seek to maintain prestige based on race distinctions. The development of caste is

the natural result of the feelings which conquerors entertain towards the subjugated. But the subject-races, from the necessity of their situation, inveigh against all caste distinctions and seek to condemn and put them down. "No Gentile and no Jew, no Ârya and no Ânârya, no European and no Native" is their natural watch-word. The Ârya also attached great importance to his scriptures, for he considered them to be the foundation of his power and prestige. He declared—"Ah! sacred fire! protect my Mantra—that which the *Ri*sis, versed in the three-fold learning, knew—the *Ri*k, the Yajus, and the Sâma—for it is the eternal glory of the good (Âryas)." The feeling was natural so far as the Âryas were concerned. But against this feeling and against caste-distinctions the aboriginal races revolted. Their energetic leaders organized the tendencies which their feelings indicated. The rationalists or Buddhists began to assert their power.

Thus the Buddhistic crisis came. The sequence of historical development—affecting the status of the powerful and prosperous Âryas and of the subjugated and despairing non-Âryans—produced consequences, which came in process of time to be felt among the Chinese on the one hand, and the Afghan and Persian races on the other, and to revolutionize the aboriginal races in Ceylon. The prosperity of the Sanskrit language—the speech of the Âryas—culminated, when Goutama Buddha propounded his doctrines. Her daughter Pâli—now recognized as the sacred language of Burma and Ceylon—took her place. The revolution thus accomplished by Buddhism was

complete. No non-Ârya could learn the science, philosophy, and literature of the Âryas. No non-Ârya could aspire after equality with them, so far as the performance of sacrifices was concerned. But, in the course of few centuries, these pretensions were modified. The Brâhmanas were attacked by foreign Buddhists like Hiouen Thsang. This force also culminated. The Brâhmanas, though their prosperity was wrecked and ruined, mustered courage, collected the wrecks and ruins and attempted a revival. The aboriginal races and the effete Âryan conquerors began a new development.

We have thus come to the modern times. About the time that Hiouen Thsang travelled in India—collecting books and information and acquiring knowledge—a nation was fired with the ambition which a religious fanaticism, caused by a religious revival, produces : the Arabs gradually found their way into India, and about the eleventh century they succeeded in making an impression on the natives of the country. The history of the contact of races—such as the Âryas, the non-Âryas or the Tamilians, Colorians, the Greco-Scythians, and the Mongolians—is fraught with a peculiar interest and opens up vistas of enquiry, at once many-sided and ever progressive.

We have attempted to discuss many questions connected with this history. We know that we have not done justice to them in all their bearings, and their collateral surroundings—ever ramifying, ever developing, ever deepening, and ever transcending the grasp of an enquirer. The questions include almost every branch of historical investiga-

tion—ethnology, philology, theology and religion, sphagiology, manners, customs, and folklore, literature, philosophy, politics and political economy, commerce and the effects of international traffic—the consequences of emigration and intermixture of races and religions, the advance of geographical knowledge, and the influence of physical phenomena and climate—included under the head of physical geography. This is history in its largest, most intricate, and most philosophical sense. We are sensible that such is the field in which we have had to work. Though we naturally feel diffident, yet we have tried at least to indicate the origin and development of large historical phenomena and the processes of revolutions. We thought, we should have been able to quote our authorities in foot-notes so that evidence might be adduced for our statements. But we are compelled to remark that the condition, that this Essay should be sent off before the thirty-first of December, prevented us from working out the original design in the way we had wished. We have particularly supported the statements in the Fourth Chapter, because it describes the culmination of Âryan prosperity and the origin of Buddhism, and seeks to fix the chronology of Panini, whose Sûtras on grammar from their nature constitute the encyclopædia of Âryan activities. We have drawn largely on the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali—a work which has not as yet secured the attention it merits. We have described Buddhism, its origin, its development, and its historical bearings during its different epochs, and have given a rapid sketch of organized Brâhmanism, the resultant of two forces—

Vedic polity, and Buddhism. We have introduced maps to illustrate the progress of the Âryas in India, the spread of Buddhism, and the relative position of Brâhmanism, and of the nationalities in India in modern times. We have attempted to sketch the history of the Prâkrit dialects. Our first Chapter aims to give the history of the antecedents of the Âryas before they entered India, and discusses the questions of their origin, their mythology, their philology, and their sacrificial system, and shows how they spread out towards the countries of Europe—entering into the history of the Mazdayasnians, and pointing out the causes of the dissensions between them and Indian Âryas. We have rapidly traversed this field because we feel we cannot characterize the Âryan invaders without such an attempt.

Our motto is—"There is a glorious future before the Âryas in India, now that their activities, dormant for centuries and threatening to become petrified, are likely to be revived and quickened by the ennobling and elevating many-sided civilization which the Western Âryas have developed, and which is brought to bear upon them."

CHAPTER I.

ANTECEDENTS OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN ÂRYAS.

The division of the Chapter and the sources of information.—The origin of Mythology.—The four stages of growth merely indicated.—Criteria.—The Rig-Veda-Sanhitâ.—Vedic Mythology: Indra, Rudra Maruts.—Aditi—Gods Dyous, Prithivi, Ushas, Agni, Parjanya, and Vâyu.—Mitra and Varuna.—Soma.—Sûrya, Pûsan, and Savitri.—The God Tvastri.—Brahmanaspati.—The Ashvins.—The Deva-patnis.—Comparative Philology.—Comparative Mythology.—Comparative Sphagiology.—The Spiritual Theology of the Mazdayasnians.—Evidence for it from Comparative Mythology and Comparative Sphagiology.

EXTRACTS.

"The theology of Zoroaster was darkly comprehended by foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his disciples; but the most careless observers were struck with the philosophic simplicity of the Persian worship. "That people," says Herodotus, "rejects the use of temples, of altars, and of the statues, and "smiles at the folly of those nations, who imagine that the "gods are sprung from, or bear any affinity with, the human "nature. The tops of the highest mountains are the places "chosen for sacrifices. Hymns and prayers are the principal "worship; the Supreme God who fills the wide circle of Heaven, "is the object to whom they are addressed." Yet, at the same time, in the true spirit of a polytheist, he accuses them of adoring Earth, Water, Fire, the Winds, and the Sun and Moon. But the Persians of every age have denied the charge, and explained the equivocal conduct, which might appear to give a colour to it. The elements, and more particularly Fire, Light, and the Sun, whom they called Mithra, were the objects of their religious reverence, because they considered them as the purest symbols, the noblest productions, and the most powerful agents of the Divine Power and Nature."—*Gibbon's Decline and fall of the Roman Empire.*

The gods sacrificed to a sacrifice (Agni) by means of a sacrifice (Agni). Those *were* the first religious rites. Invested with glory, they then went to Heaven where those gods, who had preceded them (Pûrve), dwell, endowed with (all) means.—*Rig-Veda-Sanhitâ,* (1. 164, 50.).

THE

Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

ANTECEDENTS OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN ÂRYAS.

The division of the Chapter and the Sources of information.

THE ancient Âryas, when they invaded India, had made great progress in civilization. They had passed from the condition of mere agriculturists into that of feudalism. The different tribes had been fused into one community. They possessed such knowledge of agriculture and peaceful arts of life as is discernible in India at the present day. Their knowledge of the art of war and its means would do credit to any nation of Europe during the middle ages. Their systems of Cosmology and

Theology and Domestic Economy prove that they were not mere hordes of uneducated barbarians, whom some unknown fatality drove into India. The period of history which we purpose to describe in this chapter is naturally sub-divided into four parts—1. The early history of the Âryan tribes, constituting the Âryan race as a whole when their Mythology and their Theology were gradually developed; 2. the separation of the tribes and their migration into the western regions; 3. the great schism among the Âryans in Âriana itself and its features; 4. the consequent invasion of India.[1] The materials for the history of this interesting period, comprising such important events as we have mentioned under the four heads, are to be collected. The main source of our information is the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ itself.[2] It comprises the popular songs, the sacrificial invocations, the philosophical speculations, and theological doctrines, and thus throws sufficient light on the different stages of the early Âryan civilization. This information is to be

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[1] Facts connected with the invasion of India by the ancient Âryans are brought together in a separate chapter by itself. The second chapter produces evidence in support of the statement we have made as to the condition of the Âryans when they entered India.

[2] The Gâthâs of the Zendâvestâ and its code of social rules are important. We have shown in this connection their relation to the Vaidika hymns. (See the end of this chapter.) But the Zendâvestâ and the Gâthâs supply information of the state of the ancient Âryans in the agricultural stage only. Besides, the supply is rather scanty as compared with that of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ. Hence our statement. But we must state that the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ, without the light which the Zendâvestâ and the sacrificial system throw on it by way of elucidation, cannot afford much substantial aid.

supplemented by that which Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology supply. The Zend-âvestâ tends to elucidate this period of history as the writings of Zarathustra constitute an interesting collateral literary and religious stratum[1] as if an igneous formation, because it is shot through by a rich vein of the spirit of animosity against the ancient Âryas, who advanced towards India. The Brâhmaṇa literature which describes, though indirectly, the contests between the Devas and Asuras (Daevas and Ahuras of the Zendâvestâ), and develops and systematizes the sacrificial lore, constitutes an upper stratum,—a subsequent formation, and affords an insight into the nature of the strata below it. The materials which can be obtained from the Ṛik-Sanhitâ, Comparative Philology, Comparative Mythology,[2] the Zendâvestâ and

[1] The position of the Zendâvestâ in this investigation is important. We have carefully examined it. Though its chronology cannot be fixed with the certainty which historical precision requires, yet it may be safely stated that parts of the Gâthâ literature, mythology and history as embodied in traditions it reveals, are anterior to the invasion of India by the Âryas. The Gâthâs are more subject to the Vaidika Grammar of Pâṇini than the utterances of the Ṛisis. We have shown this in this essay in the sequel. Those parts of the Zendâvestâ which give ethics, social rules and ritual, are like the Smṛitis of the Brâhmaṇas, which were recast and remodelled from time to time till they petrified as society out-grew them.

[2] Comparative Philology as well as Comparative Mythology are yet in their infancy. The sciences are named in-as-much as the phenomena they have to investigate are definitely stated. But those who help a science really, have not done their work—the collectors of materials. When the literature bearing on Comparative Philology and Mythology is collected, the paucity of the collection is at once seen. The second stage of a science is the classification of the materials so that the essential may be separated from accidental materials. Savants

the extensive sacrificial literature of the Brahmavâdinas, are abundant, and we will open mines in these strata and work in them so far as time can permit, and at any rate, take care to indicate the lines of our researches, which will be principally traced by means of the complex sacrificial system as it can be observed in its developed forms in India, during the time of the Aitareya, Taittirîya and Vâjasaneya thinkers and priests.

The origin of Mythology.

Different theories, such as scriptural,[1] allegorical,[2] historical,[3] and physical,[4] have been advanced

in Europe are working in this direction. The third stage is the statement of general laws which can explain the phenomena. The present state of these sciences may be characterized as the *conflict of hypotheses*. We have stated our view to show how much light, and what kind of light, these sciences, if they are called so, can throw.

1 Mr. G. W. Cox discusses the different theories in his own way. He represents Gladstone as holding "that under corrupted forms, it presents the old Theistic and Messianic traditions, that by a primitive tradition, if not by a direct command, it upheld the ordinance of sacrifice; that its course was from light to darkness, from purity to uncleanliness." (See Cox's Mythology of the Âryan Nations, (Vol. I. B. 1. page 11.)

2 Lord Bacon considered that all myths like the story of the Spœnix were elegant and instructive fables.

3 The historical theory was in one sense started in Europe by Eumeros and in India by the Aitihâsikas, mentioned in the Nirukta of Yâska. (See the 9th chapter of the Mythology of Âryan Nations by Cox.) Historians like Niebühr have employed it in modern times.

4 Goldstücker, for instance, attributes the development of the myth of the Ashvins to a cosmical element :—His words addressed to Dr. Muir, are :—"The myth of the Ashvins is, in my opinion, one of that class of myths in which two distinct elements—the cosmical and human and historical—have gradually become blended into one." Kühn's theory is cosmical.

to explain the mythology of different nations. We have to show that the mythology of the Âryas gradually grew up, that the same myths were understood at different periods of their history in different ways until at last myths ceased to be originated and to grow up, and their mythology was stereotyped; but what was at first a living organism capable of growth and development, passed into the condition of a fossil embedded in the strata of subsequent beliefs and dogmas and that mythology sprang from the source of philosophical explanation, or from analogy, or from the description of cosmical phenomena, and though seldom, from historical facts of immense importance and magnitude. Max Müller propounds the solar theory and ingeniously attributes the development of Vedic mythology to the solar influence in its diverse manifestations.[1] Kühn and his school seek to explain Vedic mythology by advancing the meteorological theory.[2] We have examined both

[1] We are aware of the theory which Dr. Max Müller propounds. He has done great service to the science (so far as developed) of Comparative Mythology. He characterizes his theory as *solar theory*. We should call it psychologico-lingual theory, because it involves three distinct propositions:—1. The Âryan being imaginative, at first gave many names to the same object. This is polyonomy. 2. He forgot the significance or rather the signification of the original names. 3. From this mythology sprang up.

[2] (See Lectures on the Science of Language, Max Müller, 2nd Series, page 519.) His words are:—"I look upon the sun-rise and sun-set, on the daily return of day and night, on the battle between light and darkness, on the whole solar drama in all its details that is acted every day, every month, every year, in heaven and in earth, as the principal subject of early mythology." Again, "quite opposed to this, the solar theory, is that proposed by Professor Kühn, and adopted by the most eminent mythologians of Germany, which may be called the meteorological theory."

the theories and feel that a serious assumption underlies them both. According to Dr. Max Müller, the ancient Âryan man was suddenly impressed by the glory of the sun, the mellow light of the moon, the sky inlaid with bright stars, the gorgeous morn, and the delightful eve, and enraptured with nature's beauty, poured forth the hymns of the *Ri*gveda, or according to Kühn, he was suddenly overawed by the storm and lightning, and impressed by the terrific aspects of nature, broke forth into delightful strains of music, such as fear alone can produce. The truth is, the ancient Âryan man had his periods[1] of growth before he appeared as a gallant warrior, moved by the spirit of chivalry, determined to overcome his enemies, buoyed up with the hope of success, and undaunted by adversity and dangers. Our theory of gradual growth allows sufficient time to the ancient Âryas to emerge from barbarism, to pursue, for some time, pastoral and agricultural life, and when prepared, to form a feudal confederacy, though spontaneous

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1 The notions or conceptions of the sun point to this, so far as philology is concerned. At first the sun was merely a great light which caused heat. He was Sûrya or Sol or Helios, as he vivifies nature. His names as specially developed by agriculturists were Savitri, the producer of corn—the autumnal sun,—Pûsan, the harvest-sun. The name Vivasvan is common to the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ and the Zend-âvestâ even so far as the mythology of Vivasvan goes. Now then, philologically, the Âryas were in the same condition, social and political, when they used the same word for the sun, Sûrya, Sol or Helios. They were in a different condition when the Zendic mythology was developed,—the mytholoy of a nation which had struggled for the settled life of agriculturists as opposed to that of nomads or shepherds. The sacrificial system bears this out. We have developed this in the sequel.

and tacit, and in the fulness of time to develop grand schemes of the invasion and occupation of India.

The four Stages of Growth merely indicated.

The ancient Âryas were at first, that is, long before they invaded India, sāvages who hunted wild beasts and lived upon their flesh, the whole animal being cooked.[1] Some of them formed a gang, and, intoxicated with the Soma-juice, went a-shooting, yelling as frantically as possible, brandishing their rude javelin-like poles, and overcame their wild adversary in the recesses of a jungle more by dint of a furious onslaught, than by a sustained effort.[2] They had not constructed even rude huts to live in. They lay on a dry and barren plain in groups—a plain that had no thickets upon it, and could not harbour wild animals. The notions of man in such a condition are necessarily confined to himself. The vast expanse of the sky spangled

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[1] *Vide* the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ (I. 164, 43.) where it is said that the warriors cooked a spotted ox: those practices were old or ancient. The *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ throws light on the times that had long past away. In this connection, the words of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् deserve special attention.

[2] These statements are based on direct passages in the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ which are quoted in the sequel, for instance, Indra, as soon as born, asked his mother where his foes were. The theory of the four stages of civilization depends for its validity on facts in the history of the world, as well as on the writings of distinguished travellers. *Vide* John Stuart Mill's Political Economy, 1st chapter (Preliminary Remarks). He bases his social and economical philosophy on the growth of society and definitely points out the four epochs of progress.

with beautiful stars at night, or at times bright with the mellow light of the moon, the coy morn, the evening twilight, when the sky is variegated with shuffling hues and tints, the beautiful rays of the sun as they break through clouds, the mountains, against the tops of which storms dash, and the sides of which pour down innumerable torrents in the rainy season,—all these do not awaken in the mind of a mere savage hunter a poetical feeling—the offspring of admiration. A savage may become frantic with terror. Now exposed to the attack of a wild animal such as a tiger, and now shivering with cold, he may be maddened into fits of fury; but he cannot be poetic or imaginative. If he learns anything, he may learn to form a small gang of his companions, either for averting a danger or hunting down a wild animal for food.[1]

II. He gradually tames wild animals and enters upon pastoral life. His circumstances are then improved. An opportunity of cultivating sympathies by tending his cattle is afforded to him. His soft and amiable nature is called out. He carefully feeds his

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[1] We have got authentic accounts of the savages of Australia—the races have now almost become extinct. In India, even at the present day, there are numerous races of savages. Removed a few miles from flourishing towns are found savages in India. Their carelessness of comforts of life such as a hut or clothing, no matter how coarse, their habits of drunkenness, their wild and frantic dances, and their furious and fitful pursuit of a wild animal like a tiger—in which sometimes women take a part, invariably characterize them. But we have enquired and failed to discover any song about the forces or powers of nature—any song referring fancifully or wittily to the sun or the morn or exhibiting any conceit of thought.

cattle, and his cattle repay his care. New ties are thus developed. He is attached naturally to the cattle-fold. Those quiet and harmless habits of his cow or buffalo, which he can easily observe, powerfully influence his mind and modes of life. Sober and diligent, he associates with his brethren. Possessing enough of leisure, and always above want, he finds himself surrounded by a large family. A number of clans are thus gradually formed. He takes more than one wife—the institution of polygamy being peculiarly agreeable to his vanity and self-conceit.[1] Pastures constitute his territory ; cattle, his wealth ; their protection, his occupation : their diversions, his pastimes ; and their milk, his principal food. But necessity teaches him to watch anxiously the vicissitudes of weather, and the seasons of rain, for his cattle require extensive pasturage ; and he thus becomes amenable to terrestrial and celestial influences.[2] Constant observation enlarges

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1 Polygamy appears to be a recognized institution among all wild tribes. In the earliest history of India, polygamy appears to be *the* institution. Throughout the extensive sacrificial literature, many wives are distinctly mentioned. When wives have to participate in a sacrificial act, one wife is, of course, recognized as entitled to precedence. See *Rik*-Sanhitâ (VII. 26, 3.). "As a common husband, his wives." The original words are :—जनीरिव पतिरेकः समानो.

2 See Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, 2nd Series, from 250 to 257 pages. We will quote his words as he seems to us to support our theory of gradual growth. "As families rose into clans, clans into tribes, tribes into confederacies, confederacies into nations." The elders of each family naturally formed themselves into a senate. The origin of such important words as *palace*, *court*, *minister*, *king*, he traces to the Âryas in their pastoral condition. Again, the same author observes (1st Series of his Lectures on the Science of Language), 68th page. "The eye of these shepherds who live in the free air, sees further, their

his notions of the earth and sky. He is moved, when the cloud rumbles, and the lightning flashes. He sings and he jumps for joy. He philosophizes and attempts to fix the time, when the rains set in, by observing the length of days and nights. He develops a sort of astronomy. The most intelligent shepherd soon begins to lead his own clan. A hunter is a mere adventurer, and his influence over his gang is temporary. The gang is broken up as soon as an animal half cooked and half raw is eaten. The intelligent shepherd is the social leader of his clan, and his influence is permanent.[1]

III.—Gradually agriculture is developed. The bullock is yoked. The wild horse is broken in. The diet is improved, and a variety of dishes, made of flour and mixed with milk,[2] conduces to his health. Permanent property in the form of land

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ear hears more sharply,—why should their speech not have gained that living truth and variety ?" This is important testimony in favour of our statement. German scholars seem to entertain the same views. (See, for instance, Grimm as quoted by Dr. Müller in this connection.)

[1] We have shepherds and nomads who are rich in cattle in India. In the Thara-Parakar district between the desert of Rajputana and Sindha, there are pastoral people. They call the pasture-land their Rāj, (a territory) and their cattle, their Dhana, (wealth). They export much ghee, or rather traders in the district help them to do so. We have seen the country specially. The people are interesting. Their songs attempt some rude explanation of the forces and powers of nature. Their conversation is witty. Their stories, though sometimes obscene, are important to a comparative mythologist. Their conceits are really such as suit their condition in life ; for instance, they believe that there are great hunters, and shepherds in the skies ; and they move the wind or rivers which cause rain.

[2] Amikṣā is a dish made exclusively of milk. In sacrifices, great importance is attached to it.

is acquired. Such leisure—as the peasants can afford during eight months of the year when a plentiful harvest blesses their labours, and when the population being limited, the supply is always in excess of the demand—is favorable to the growth of the spirit of that industry which supplies small conveniences of life and which seeks to make it comfortable.

IV.—Chivalry is a natural and necessary consequence of a desire of luxuries. The necessity of self-defence encourages the growth of feudalism.[1] Self-complacency patronizes the bards who can flatter the social leader. A song of his exploits cannot but excite those who listen to it. Young men are naturally fired with the ambition of distinguishing themselves. The brave and the strong acquire power over the timid and the weak. Small states are formed—states which constitute a feudal community, influenced by the same religious and the social institutions, and the same political feeling. The Âryans had attained to this stage of civilization, when they invaded India.[2]

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[1] Guizot in his history of European civilization throws light on the development of feudalism. As soon as Nomadic hordes began to settle in Europe after their eruption, about the 5th century A. D., they naturally passed into the condition of feudalism. In modern times, as soon as the peasants of Mahârâstra broke in upon the Mogul Empire from their mountain fastnesses, they naturally passed into feudalism. The Marâthâ confederacy is a great feudal confederacy. These modern developments in history can alone explain facts of remote antiquity—facts that obey the law of historical sequence.

[2] We have not enlarged on the fourth stage of civilization. The phenomenon of the feudal system is important. We have authentic records about it in Europe. It may be examined and its elements,

We have succinctly traced the different stages of civilization, as the theory of gradual growth, by means of which we shall attempt to explain the Vedic mythology, is based on them. The evidence for the statements we have made, may be thus categorically summed up. 1. The Âryan Gotra-system is founded on a division into clans, originating in consanguinity.[1] 2. The Âprî-hymns, as they are given in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, point also in the same direction.[2] 3. Yâjusa-Houtra as it is to be distinguished from *Ri*k-Houtra, which is regularly recognized, marks out tribal divisions. Houtra means the collection of the Mantras or verses, which Hota-priests recite at a sacrifice. The Taittirîya-Sanhitâ gives[3] the Mantras

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easily stated. Writers like Guizot have analysed it. Feudalism was developed in India as soon as the ancient Âryas settled in it. The Zendâvestâ records the laws, religious feelings, and mythology of a nation or race in its agricultural stage of development: the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, of a race in a state of chivalry and feudalism. One necessary consequence of feudalism is the ascendancy of the priests: the Brâhmaṇa literature records the history of the rise of priests and the methods by which the power of the Purohitas was consolidated.

[1] *Vide* the Shrouta-Sûtra of Âshvalâyana, (the latter six chapters) (VI. 10, 1.), where Gâṇagâri is opposed to a confederation of different Gotras for the purposes of a Sattra, for he asks how can there be Âprî-Sukṭani? How the Prajâyâ offerings? See (VI. 10, 2.). Shounaka sanctions different Gotras for a Sattra, for he had out-grown the feeling of clanship and could realize the aspirations after a confederacy.

[2] *Vide* Max Müller's remarks on the Âprî-hymns as made in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature, page 463. These verses are historically important, as they enable us to throw light on the social condition of the Âryas, when similar and different Gotras or clans were passing into the condition of a community.

[3] See (II. 13, 32.) of the Shrouta-Sûtra of Âshvalâyana who condemns it. Mâdhava notices the same in his Yajur-bhâṣya.

to be recited by a Hotâ for all sacrifices except the Agnistoma—the form of all Soma-sacrifices, 4. The Bhrigus, Angirasas, and others are often mentioned in the Rik-Sanhitâ itself. 5. Different leaders acquired different parts of the Punjab by overcoming different leaders of the aborigines.[1] 6. The Taittirîya Sanhitâ (VII. 1, 1, 3.) divides the Ksatriyas into fifteen classes, and the Vaishyas into many more. 7. Tribes are mentioned in the Aitareya Brâhmana[2] and in the Mahâbhârata. 8. Zarthustra himself was a leader of some tribes.[3] 9. The Zendâvestâ often refers to clans, tribes and the confederacy.[4] 10. Inconsistency in the geneology of Vedic gods can be easily explained by attributing it to tribal distinctions. More evidence in support of the different stages of civilization, through which, we believe, the ancient Âryas passed before the invasion of India, will be adduced in the sequel.

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1 See for instance (I. 51.), Pipru is opposed to Rijishvân : Susna is opposed to Kutsa : Shambara is opposed to Atithigva : see the 8th verse of the same of the Rik-Sanhitâ—"(Indra) Vijânîhyâryân ye cha Dasyavo, barhismate randhaya shâsadavratân. Know well the Âryas and the Dasyus, who restrain them from sacrificing, and (Indra) punish those who are without religious rites." This text throws light on the opposition of leaders.

2 See the Aitareya Brâhmana (IV. 25). The words are :—Samasmin svâh shrestatâyâm jânate ya evam veda. Svâh (his own people) Sanjânate (agree) Shrestatâyâm (for leadership). The Kouravas and Pândavas collected their clans for war.

3 *Vide* Yasna (XXXII. 14.). The opposition-clans are there referred to as Kavayas.

4 Yasna (XIX. 52.). What are the lords of these ? The lord of the dwelling, the lord of the clan, the lord of the confederacy,—Zarathustra as the fourth.

Criteria.

The system of Âryan sacrifices affords the best criteria for dividing the hymns of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ into four parts corresponding to the four stages of civilization. When the sacrificial system as described in the extensive Brâhmaṇa-literature is analysed, we find that it distinctly refers to four different periods of Âryan civilization.

There are two distinct systems of sacrifices, the Smârta-sacrifices, which are to be sub-divided into two classes—the sacrifices of the pastoral stage of civilization and the sacrifices of the agricultural stage of civilization—and the Shrouta-sacrifices consisting of the sacrifices of a prosperous community, following agricultural pursuits in their developed form, and of the sacrifices of a community at once chivalrous and enterprising. We will describe these sacrifices at length in the third chapter. At the time of the invasion of India, at least, the Âryans were ashamed of those barbarous practices which belong to the first stage of civilization. They distinctly repudiate them. The practice—of burning or rather cooking a wild living bison—is characterized in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, as ancient and extinct (Prathama.)[1] When mere savages who hunted down wild animals and lived on their flesh, the Âryans seized a strong bison and burnt him alive. This barbarous practice gradually assumed the form of an animal-sacrifice known in the Smârta-system as Shûlagava.[2] For some time, a cow was killed on the oc-

1 *Vide* the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (I. 164, 43.).

2 See the chapter of the Grihya-Sûtra by Âshvalâyana (IV. 9). *Vide* also (I. 162, 11.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. In it a horse is spoken of as stabbed with an iron stake (shûla).

casion of celebrating the anniversaries of their forefathers.[1] The sacrifice known as Ashvayujî in the Smârta-system was intended to propitiate Rudra, the tutelary god of cattle. It belongs to the pastoral stage of civilization. The bundles of sacrificial grass, those of Barhis, of the sacrificial Veda, of the Prastara—which are carefully brought in as if from a wilderness even now in every sacrifice, the milking of cows, the care with which the calves are driven off, the manner in which a dairy-maid's business is symbolised, the way in which a dish consisting of fresh milk and curds[2] is prepared, the rude fashion of baking a sacrificial cake, the importance attached to a mortar, pestle, the sieve, mere hides, the wooden vessels for keeping flour or clarified butter,[3] and the varieties of the clarified butter itself—all these bear out our statements as to the pastoral and agricultural stages of civilization. We will categorically adduce evidence in support of the fourth stage of civilization—the existence of the feelings of chivalry among the ancient Âryans who migrated into India. 2. The Agni-*sto*ma sacrifice in which the Soma-plant is exalted to the rank of a prince, its royal reception (Atithe*sti*),[4] the ostenta-

1 *Vide* Yasna (XXXII. 12.) which states :—"The men who by their teaching hinder from good deeds. To these has Mazda announced evil, to them who slay the soul of the cow with friendly speech." The Mazdayasnians condemned the killing of a cow as they were fast settling down as agriculturists. The Indian Âryas killed her for food and sacrifice.

2 The dish is known to the sacrificing priests as Amikṣâ.

3 All these sacrificial utensils are described fully in the Boudhâyana Shrouta Sûtra, a copy of which I possess in fragments.

4 See the IX. Man*ḍ*ala of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ, and the chapter of the Aitareyâ Brâhma*ṇa*—(I. 3, 16.).

tion with which the Soma-drink is prepared, the array of priests, their boastful declarations, the importance of the family which brought the Soma-sacrifice, and which openly made declarations of power against its enemies and of its material prosperity,—all these facts attest to the chivalrous character of the times. The sword which was named the Sphya was often used at a sacrifice. The mantras[1] on behalf of ladies were to be recited in a soft voice. The modesty of goddesses was veiled by a curtain at a sacrifice in imitation of a similar practice among the higher classes of society. At a sacrifice, the Ksatriya especially played at dice with his wife or wives and sons. It is particularly recommended that rice won from an enemy ought to be boiled and eaten. A splendid horse marched before the sacrificial fire when it was conveyed from the domestic (Gârhapatya) fire-place to the sacrificial (Âhavanîya) fire-place. Even Brâhmanas received horses as their sacrificial fee (Daksinâ.) A chariot-wheel was used when the domestic (Gârgapatya) fire was first kindled, and consecrated. The wife of a sacrificer particularly prayed to her gods for beautiful daughters and heroic sons.[2] Admiration of

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1 The oblations thrown into the fire called the Patnî Sanyâjas bear on this subject. They form an essential part of the Darsha-Pûrnamasesti. When the goddesses are invited and supposed to have come, a curtain is held between the sacrificers and the goddesses, and the mantras are softly recited. (See the Boudhâyana Shrouta Sûtra,—the Darsha-Pûrnamasesti).

2 For verifying these statements, see such treatises as Agnyâdhâna-Prayoga, Darsha-Pûrnamasa, Pasûbandha, Châturmasî, Soma-Prayogas, which are all based on the Boudhâyana and Âshvalâyana Shrouta Sûtras, which in their turn are based on the Brâhmanas of the Rik-

the beauty of the fair and inordinate love of adventurous enterprises characterize essentially the feeling of chivalry. The triumphal columns (Yûpas) were raised in an animal-sacrifice (Pashu-bandha) and in the Soma-sacrifices. The *Ri*k-Sanhitâ abounds with passages which betray the spirit of chivalry. The horse[1] is praised, nay, he is exalted to the rank of a demi-god. The weapons[2] of warfare are addressed—a feeling which is the essential mark of the ancient Âryans being particularly influenced by the institution of chivalry. None but the bards of a chivalrous period could sing the charming hymns of the morn—(Usas). The facts—that the Smârta sacrifice of the domestic fire invariably introduces all sacrifices, that it is the model of such Shrouta-sacrifices as those of the new and full moon, and that the latter is the model of the Agnis*t*oma, the model of all Soma-sacrifices in which the Shrouta-sacrifices culminate—establish chronological sequence.[3] The

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Sanhitâ and Taittirîya-Sanhitâ are to be consulted. There are, of course, many Brâhma*n*as and Shrouta-Sûtras,—a growth of the Brahmavâdi-period. (See the 3rd chapter of this essay).

1 See the Ashva-stutis in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. The names of a horse are Vâjî, Arvan, and others. See for instance, (I. 161.), where the Ashva-medha-sacrifice is distinctly referred to.

2 See the whole hymn (VI. 75.), in which all the weapons of warfare are mentioned:—the helm, bow, bow-string, the end of a bow, quiver, a coachman or charioteer, the reins, horses, a war-chariot or Ratha, arrows, the whip, and a shield (Hastagha*n*a.)

3 The Shûla-gava is a remnant of the first period. In the agricultural period as discovered in the Zendâvestâ, there was a strong feeling of pity in favour of the cattle. No agriculturist can see his cow or buffalo hurt or injured without his mind being moved. The Pûrna-mase*s*i marks more the pastoral period than agricultural, though it combines both. The Agnis*t*oma sacrifice belongs to a feudal nation.

Soma-sacrifice was peculiarly and exclusively the sacrifice of the period of chivalry. The system of Vedic sacrifices is thus historically important. Though persistently ignored, yet when carefully investigated, it does not fail to throw sufficient light on some intricate problems in the history of the ancient Âryans.

The *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ.

The *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ is a complete collection of the whole literature of the Âryans from the earliest time when they began to sing to the time of the establishment of their power on the banks of the Ganges—a literature representing doubtless all sides of human nature—the achievements of its intellect and the expression of its emotions, its theological dogmas, its spiritual aspirations, its cosmological speculations, and its psychological ideas, as well as popular poetry and its chivalrous ballads. But the bards—who sang the hymns and gave vent to their feelings, now describing in pathetic terms forest scenery[1] and now speculating as to the origin of language[2]—were not inferior men who wandered from a thrashing floor to a thrashing floor, or from village to village to earn a livelihood. They were poets who were systematically initiated into the sacrificial lore and were accustomed to lead society.[3] They were priests whose principal busi-

1 *Vide* the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ (X. 146.).

2 *Vide* (X. 71.) of the same : the second and third verses specially refer to the origin of language.

3 *Vide* the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ (X. 710.) : the whole Sûkta is interesting from different points of view.

ness was to learn by heart the sacred songs handed down to them from their ancestors, and to use them at the time of a sacrifice when the assembled priests exhibited their intellectuality in the presence of their patrons[1]—the Âryan warriors and rich merchants.[2] A sacrificial fire-place was the centre where all learning and ingenuity were brought together, and the focus from which knowledge of every kind radiated.[3] It was at the sacrificial fire-place that an exciting song in honour of a warrior who had aquired or explored a new territory for the Âryans was recited.[4] It was at a sacrificial fire-place that the princely gifts of a rich man to an officiating priest were published to the world. It was at a sacrificial fire-place that the nation boasted of its progress in knowledge, its enterprizes and its prosperity, attributing them all to their god—Indra or Agni. It was at a sacrificial fire-place that they confessed their sins in a way, and prayed to their gods for deliverance from the power of Pâpmâ[5] or

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1 *Vide* (I. 164, 84-35.) of the same.

2 Particular hymns praising rich donors need not be quoted as they are many.

3 *Vide* (I. 164.): the whole hymn, which explains important psychological and sacrificial bearings of the economy of the Âryans, opens with a sacrificial arrangement.

4 All the statements in this paragraph are based on such hymns of the Ṛik-Sanhitâ as (X. 154.); the third verse of which deserves special attention as brave warriors who fall on a battle-field and liberal donors are mentioned together. *Vide* also in this connection the Sanhitâ (X. 125.) and (X. 173-174.).

5 *Vide* (IV. 5, 5.) of the same, where sinners who speak untruth and who live an immoral life are said to produce a deep hell. The verse is interesting as it throws light on the ideas of sin which the Âryas entertained at this time. The idea of Personal Sin is thoroughly

Sin incarnate. It was at a sacrificial fire-place that the irresistible national propensity to play at dice was condemned in a language that even at this distance of time, moves the heart of the reader:[1] it was at a sacrificial fire-place that the Soma was pounded, squeezed, and filtered, its virtues being extolled, and jars being filled with the sparkling juice:[2] and it was at a sacrificial fire-place that a new song prepared by a bard was listened to and applauded.[3] It was in performing a sacrifice that the different tribes vied with one another.[4] As it is impossible to understand and appreciate English history without studying the Magna-Charta and the changes from time to time in the political constitution of England, so it is impossible to understand and appreciate the spirit of the civilization of the ancient Áryas as it is revealed in the collection of

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brought out in the Black Yajus-Sanhitâ. The word itself does not occur in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, yet the thought is vividly before the minds of the Áryas. See the (X. 126.). The whole hymn is interesting in this connection. It is only one out of many bearing on the subject.

1 *Vide* the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (X. 34.) in which the dice are praised as well as condemned. In a sacrifice called Agnyâdhana the husband and wife play at dice.

2 The ninth Ma*n*dala is full of every thing connected with Soma: For instance, see (IX. 64.): the 9th and 10th verses deserve attention.

3 (X. 71, 8.) of the same, where original poets are mentioned as deserving approbation. The Nava Brahmâ*n*i or new hymns are often referred to. Sing or *Prag*ó*yata* is used. The words (I. 10, 4.) "Brahma cha no vaso sachendra yajnam cha vardhaya" are important.

4 The Goutamâs have composed (made) well-woven hymns. See (I. 61, 16.). We, Ka*n*vâs with songs invite (I. 47, 10.). The Ka*n*vâs and Goutamâs vied with each other.

hymns called the *Rik*-Sanhitâ, without studying their sacrificial system, the soul of their civilization. No matter what hymn is read, it directly or indirectly cannot but refer to a sacrifice. Either the musical modes of the Udgâtâ-singer are mentioned or the name of a sacrifice such as *Yajna* or *Makha*, or some prayer asking a god to partake of their sacrificial portion (Yajniya Bhâga) occurs. The main ground of the picture of society drawn in the *Rik*-Sanhitâ is a sacrifice: the manifold poetical sentiments which heighten its effect are the natural and essential lights and shades beautifully tinged with the spirit of that long war which the Âryans waged with the aboriginal tribes by which their great god Indra was surrounded. The back-ground is represented by the four stages of civilization through which they had passed, and which in their aggregate effect still exercised a powerful influence upon their social and religious institutions. The fore-ground of the picture was the anxiety with which the consequences of the struggle with their enemies were awaited—a struggle which stirred up the inmost depths of their hearts, awakening aspirations noble and heroic, which braced their intellect and enlarged its scope so as to embrace the finite and infinite—the earth and heavens in its ken,—firing their imagination and strengthening their will. When the long war with the Dasyus ended, when kingdoms on the model of those in their mother country were formed, when the tribes settled, maintaining the same social, religious and political relations with one another as before, when the Âryans were duly respected by the abo-

rigines who had learnt submission, when the prestige of Âryan gods was completely established, and when Âryan society in India was thoroughly consolidated, it was significantly observed by a poet who naturally expressed a national feeling, that Dhâtâ—the god of stability—arranged society as it once existed.[1] As the colonists in America transplanted institutions, the growth of the English soil to the banks of the Mississippi and the Hudson, so the Âryans attempted at least to reproduce on the banks of the five rivers of the Punjab all that they once possessed and cherished in the plateau of Âriâna.

Vaidika Mythology: Indra, Rudra, and Marutas.

Mythology was at first anthropopathic and gradually became cosmic as the notions of the Âryans were enlarged, and as they advanced in civilization. The conquest of India opened up new intellectual and spiritual vistas and acted powerfully on Vedic mythology and religion. We will first investigate the growth of the myth of Indra—a god whose praises occupy a large portion of the *Rik*-Sanhitâ.[2] It is said that he is peculiarly a god of the Indian Âryas.[3] We cannot endorse this view as we believe

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1 *Vide* the *Rik*-Sanhitâ (X. 190, 3.)—the words are :—Dhâtâ yathâ pûrvama-kalpayat.

2 *Vide* Muir's Texts (Vol. V. Sec. V.) He observes:—"More hymns are dedicated to his honor than to the praise of any other divinity."

3 "Indra, a name peculiar to India, admits of but one etymology, *i.e.*, it must be derived from the same root, whatever that may be,

that he is the most ancient god of the whole Aryan race. His original name was *Vindra.* The letter *V* is perishable when at the beginning of a syllable. The lower classes in Mahârâstra pronounce *Iththala* instead of *Viththala*—the god of Tukârâma and the celebrated deity among the Marâthâs. *Vindra* means the obtainer, as the latter part of Govinda in later mythology does. He is, in common with other gods, frequently called Bhagas in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. Bhagavan was, though seldom, changed into Maghavan. The words, always used in common conversation, are necessarily contracted. Bhagavan passed into Bhagavas; and Pâ*n*ini gives Bhagos, and Bhos, as the forms of Bhagavan.[1] Bhagavan, therefore, became *Bhagho* in the mouths of the common people. A tribe preferred the name of *Bhagho* to Indra. According to Grimm's law, the second syllable of Bhagho became *xo* or in the Greek language *xos* in the nominative case. But in undergoing the change, the first syllable was strengthened as *Van,* the last part of Bhagavan was dropped. Bhagavan, therefore, became Bakxos in Greek. Indra in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ is described as an Âditya, the son of Âditi—an epithet of Dyous. Bakxos is described as a son of Zeus. The mother of Indra concealed him as she regarded his birth as a fault.[2]

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which in Sanskrit yielded *indu,* drop, sap. It meant originally the god of rain—the Jupiter Pluvius—a deity in India more often present to the mind of the worshipper than any other. Cf. Benfey, Orient and Occident, Vol. I. p. 49." Lectures on the Science of Language, Max Müller, 2nd Series, p. 430.

1 *Vide* Pa*n*ini (VIII. 3, 17.).

2 *Vide* the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (IV. 18, 5.).

Ammon from fear of Rhea carried the child (Bakxos) to a cave in the neighbourhood of the mount Nysa. In the Greek mythology Bakxos or Dionysius is the productive, overflowing and intoxicating power of nature which carries man away from his usual quiet and sober mode of living.[1] Grote in the first volume of his history of Greece describes Dionysian mysteries which may be compared with Indra's fondness for Soma and the riots of priests in the Agnis*t*oma-Soma sacrifice, when flesh is eaten rather voraciously, and the intoxicating Soma is inordinately indulged in. The comparison and contrast between Indra and Bakxos could have been enlarged but for want of time. The god Bagh[2] is known in the cuneiform inscriptions, and Bago,[2] among the Schlaavs. Again, there is a strong tendency to drop the last vowel in the European nations. *Vindra*, therefore, became *Vind*—(*R*, being a perishable letter, is also dropped with the vowel.) The letter *V* could be easily changed into *U* in conformity with the rules of Samprasâra*n*a as developed by Pâ*n*ini.[3] And *U* underwent the *gun*a-change into *O*. *Oind* could not be easily pronounced as two vowels caused a difficulty arising from hiatus. In conformity with the recognized rules of the transposition of letters,

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1 *Vide* Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. *Vide* the treatise on Soma-sacrifice. It is not printed as yet. Copies can be had in Mahârâ*s*tra. We possess a copy.

2 *Vide* Dr. Martin Haug's Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees, foot-note on pages 90 and 194.

3 *Vide* Pâ*n*ini (I. 1, 45.).

Oind became *Odin*,[1] the god of victory among the Germanic tribes—a god who defeated and slew the frost-giant, Ymir. The author of the article on Odin in Penny Cyclopædia observes :—"The North-Western emigration of Odin from the borders of Caucasus to Scandinavia has the support of a uniform tradition in its favour." Indra was at first no god at all; but the imaginary spirit which *possessed* the leader of a gang of hunters. Indra was a personification of the afflatus[2] which produced fury in a hero and which led him on regardless of life to the attack of a wild animal such as a tiger, a natural enemy—a ferocious animal that lay concealed in a mountain-cavity or in an impenetrable primeval forest—a Vrittra who is the inveterate adversary of Indra. The Maruts[3] or killers, who accompanied

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[1] All the pairs of names—such as Bjelbog or Belbog and Hödr, Indra and Vrittra—should be brought together and then an hypothesis advanced. We believe so far as the facts collected by authors like the Rev. Mr. G. W. Cox go, our identification of Odin with Indra is well supported.

[2] The subject of *afflatus* has not had the attention it merits given to it. In the writings of German savants, it is not systematically mentioned. Yet it plays an important part in the whole social history of a nation in a particular state. The afflatus or Avasara (the particular time) explains to a barbarian that which a philosopher will contemplate as mysterious or transcendental.

[3] Maruts are the gods of storms in the Rik-Sanhitâ. At the time of Yaska, Maruts signified priests. But the word may be derived from Mri to kill. "Those that shared the feast" was the secondary meaning as the ideas of killers of wild animals and sharers of a feast were associated. When the feast was developed into a sacrifice, the Maruts necessarily came to signify priests. When the leader of a gang was identified with Indra—the god who ruled over the firmament—the Maruts still continued to be his companions and came to be the gods of storms. (See Cox's Mythology of Âryan Nations) :—"But pre-eminently,

their leader in a hunting expedition, aided him, or rather to speak impersonally and in an abstract way, aided Indra, who had *possessed* him, and shared the feast with him, when a wild animal was seized and roasted. When the leader was intoxicated with Soma, he lost command over his own person, and maddened into fury, marched onwards, or rather rudely and in the way of savages. Indra killed his father—the man who had produced him by squeezing the Soma-plant—and made his mother a widow.[1] Ekâ*st*akâ or Ni*st*igrî is said to be his mother. Mâdhava in his Commentary identifies Ni*st*igrî with Aditi.[2] We believe Mâdhava is right. But Aditi did not, during the period of hunting, convey the idea of infinitude. See the next paragraph on Aditi. The vessel in which Soma-juice was prepared became a widow, as he who squeezed and seasoned it was insensible. Agni is said to consume his

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as the name denotes, the Maruts are the crushers or grinders; and thus, as made to share in the deadly strife between Indra and Vrittra, they assume an exclusively war-like character. The history of the root which furnishes this name has been already traced, and has linked together the Greek war-god Arês, the gigantic Aloadai and Moliones, the Latin Mars and Mors, and the Teutonic Thor Miölnir. They are the children of Rudra, worshipped as the destroyer and reproducer, for these functions were blended by the same association of ideas which gave birth to the long series of correlative deities in Âryan Mythology."

[1] *Vide* Sanskrit Texts of Dr. Muir, (Vol. V. Sec. VI.). He has brought together such passages relating to the birth of Indra as generally bear on this investigation.

[2] Vide Mâdhava Sayaṇâ's Commentary on the (X. 101,12.) of the Ṛik-Sanhitâ.

parents[1] because he burns the fuel which feeds him. Both the metaphors spring from a common origin—the barbarous way of common conversation among a rude people. This was the form in which the myth of Indra originated during the first stage of civilization among wild hunters. In modern India, all wild tribes have their leaders who are infuriated under the influence of the afflatus of their god. Their leader frantically dances before them, and to the music of wild drums, a tribe marches out of its village on the slope of a mountain to hunt down a tiger or any other ferocious animal which has proved the pest of its cattle. The Greeks believed in the influence of afflatus. The tripod was used: the susceptible worshipper was *possessed* by a god. In modern India when a famine threatens the land, or cholera breaks out, the people invariably have recourse to their gods, and their leader under the influence of afflatus predicts the future. The present alone can throw light on the past: analogy, by means of which intricate problems in geology are solved, is the only safe method of investigation in Comparative Mythology. The *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ affords sufficient evidence in support of the statements we have made. We will adopt for convenience sake Dr. Muir's translation of the verses we quote:—See (III. 48, 2.) R. V. "On the day that thou wast born, thou didst from love of it, drink the moun-

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[1] (Vol. V. Sec. XIII. 2.) of Muir's Sanskrit Texts:—Strange to say, cries the poet, addressing himself to both the worlds, the child as soon as born, begins with unnatural voracity to consume his parents and is altogether beyond his mortal worshipper's comprehension, (X. 79, 4.) of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ.

tain-grown juice of the Soma-plant." 2. "Of old, the youthful mother who bore thee, satiated thee with it in the house of thy mighty father." 3. "Approaching his mother he desired sustenance. He beheld the sharp flavoured Soma on her breast."[1] Thus Indra was the spirit which the Soma-juice excited in *him* who drank it. On the subject of these verses an intelligent Sanskrit scholar observed to us that the piece of land on which the Soma-plant grew up was the mother of Indra, and that the plant itself was his father. The plant was killed when its juice was extracted. But the spot of ground which nurtured it remained unimpaired, though stripped of its beauty. Indra was energy which the Soma-drink produced. We have given this explanation here as there is some evidence to support it. The word Indra, up to the time of Pâṇini, was used in the sense of energy. The *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ[2] uses it indefinitely though often in the sense of energy. The Taittirîya-Sanhitâ (II. 2, 5.) distinctly shows that Indra meant the spirit of man. Pâṇini (V. 2, 93.) gives six different names for Indriya (faculty of sense):—"The sign of Indra, what is seen by Indra, what is created by Indra, what is accepted by Indra, and what is given by Indra." Patanjali does not comment on this Sûtra. But

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[1] See Muir's Sanskrit Texts, (V. Sec. VI.).

[2] *Vide* (I. 55, 4.) of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ—where Indriyam is interpreted by Sâyaṇa into Svavîryam. "That Indra, indeed, who wishes to be flattered by his followers, acts well in a forest, showing his valour among his own people." This verse deserves special attention of our readers.

the Kâshikâ-Vritti declares that Indra signifies either the soul or self (Âtmâ). The interpretation that Indra originally meant the spirit is supported by the history of the word Indriya. The explanation as given by the intelligent Sanskrit scholar whom we have referred to does not apply to all the verses of the *Rik*-Sanhitâ, where the birth of Indra is spoken of; as for instance, (VIII. 45, 4.) R. V. declares:—"As soon as he was born, Indra grasped his arrow and asked his mother, who are they that are renowned as fierce warriors?" Such a verse raises a difficulty as to the mother being capable of being asked. The answer is—to a barbarian everything has life: nature is rational: it replies to him, for so he believes. The verses (IV. 18, 1., X. 73, 1., X. 120, 1.) and many others—which speak of Indra as a fierce individual, intoxicated and furious and marching against his enemies—belong to the first period of civilization. *Rudra* or *Rudras* were those who beat the forest. They surrounded the forest and yelled. Rudra literally means one who cries.[1] Thus it will be seen that Indra is justly styled "ancient, undecaying, and martial." *Vide* (1., 130, 1.) and (VIII. 24, 9.) R. V. In (VIII. 65, 10.) "He is said to have agitated his jaws when rising in strength after drinking the Soma poured out from a ladle." This is just the description of a man under the influence of a strong drink. During the second stage—the pastoral period of civilization,—the notions about Indra

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[1] Vide the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ (I. 5, 1.). Sorodît yadarodît tad Rudrasya Rudratvam. He cried—What he cried is the Rudrahood of Rudra. *Vide* the third No. of "Studies in Indian Philosophy" where this is discussed—pages 57, 58, and 59, giving the discussion.

underwent some modifications. His weapons were then a hook, such as a shepherd carries. Vide (VIII. 17, 10.). In the first Mandala, he is described as carrying an iron-weapon. In (I. 55, 1.) :—" Indra is represented to sharpen his weapon as a bull sharpens his horns." It has been a tendency of the Indian Âryas not to give up totally their beliefs, but to adapt them to the times as they change. To illustrate this statement—the Aitareya Brâhmana interprets sacrificial practices in one way. The Shata-patha, during the rationalistic times of the Âchâryas, attempts to spiritualize them away. The comparison of the two Brahmana-works throws light on the way in which the Indian Âryas made progress and modified their dogmas and myths. During the pastoral period the myth was not much modified. Vrittra or Vrittras (for many are spoken of in the Rik-Sanhitâ), still attacked the cattle of the people. Strong men possessed of the spirit of Indra pursued them and aided by Maruts and Rudras slew them. Yet the shepherds necessarily watched the remarkable phenomena of nature and awaited with anxiety a good downpour of rain, for they depended on their pastures where grass could not grow without any rain. Prompted by nature, they could not but seek to explain the phenomena which made a deep impression on their minds. Analogy is employed in explaining them. An illustration will be useful. The lower classes in Sindha believe that there are large rivers like their Indus in the skies, which when they overflow their banks, cause rain, for they are familiar with the annual inundation of the Indus on which all their agricultural

operations depend. The shepherds of this period naturally compared the showers of rain to the shower-like streams of milk from teats of their cows, and imagined that there were cows in the skies. As their cows were sometimes carried away by wild beasts of prey, and they then ceased to get milk—their daily food, till some powerful man killed or drove away the wild beasts and relieved the cows, so they fancied that the clouds—the celestial cows—were driven away by a celestial *Vrittra*, who was also overcome by a celestial Indra.[1] The analogy is complete. Droughts and plentiful rains necessarily alternated. The war of Indra with the celestial *Vrittra* was, therefore, perpetually carried on. The celestial Indra was of course always victorious. Indra even now cannot be identified with any definite cosmical phenomenon. Gradually the analogy passed into a belief. As the clouds promising rain passed away suddenly, and the sky cleared up, their faith in the might of *Vrittra* was confirmed. But the sky as suddenly lowered: the thunder rumbled: the lightning flashed, and the rain poured down in torrents, when they least expected it. Their faith in the power of the celestial[2] Indra was confirmed. They fancied that the thunder was produced by a

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[1] About the power of these shepherds, we will quote Dr. Max Müller's words :—"The eye of these shepherds who live in the free air, sees further, their ear hears more sharply,"—thus the pastoral stage of society is recognized throughout. Our hypothesis of the four stages of the ancient pre-Vedic civilization is, therefore, not new.

[2] The epithet *celestial* is given to Indra in the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ. It must have a significance by its contrast with *earthly*. *Vide* the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ (IV, 17, 4.). The adjective Svaryam is used. This is an old word.

celestial Rudra who yelled as if in beating a forest to frighten Vrittra out of his hiding place. Rudra in process of time became the god of thunder : the Maruts who aided the leaders of hunters became the celestial companions of Indra. Their number is often mentioned, but they cannot be definitely identified with a cosmic phenomenon. During the agricultural period—the third stage of civilization—the myths were fixed. Indra, the Maruts, and the Rudra lost their anthropopathic character. The Âryas, in the course of centuries, forgot their wild habits, and were polished into respectable peasants. Indra had a patriarchal family for " he is surrounded by his brother's children." See (X. 55, 11.) R. V. The beautiful forms and tints of crops naturally made an impression on farmers. " He assumes the beautiful forms and is invested with the ruddy lustre of the sun." See (VIII. 85, 3.). A shepherd in the simplicity of his heart observes :—" Thou O wise (Indra) carriest a long hook like a spear and (holdest fast therewith) as a goat (catches) a branch with its fore-foot." This is a criterion for determining the chronology of a particular hymn or rather the social stratum to which a bard belongs. Yet it must be remembered that during the pastoral period, no new hymns, in which the imagery of pastoral life is not naturally and instinctively employed, can be sung. A bard is a simple child of nature and without any premeditation or elaboration, he sings as he dances. An illustration may be given. Tukârâma, a grain-dealer, and Râmdâsa, a Brâhmana, are the two most popular Marâtha poets. The imagery of the first, though most varied, is instinctively based on the habits and

manners of grain-dealers. The imagery of the last is Brâhmanical in-as-much as Purâṇas and Shâstras are drawn upon. A peasant knew that cows required more food than man, and that they had more than one stomach, and was aware of the habits of stags and bulls. He says :—" Drink Soma like a thirsty stag or like a bull roaming in a waterless waste ;" and in the language of Dr. Muir—" fill his belly or his two bellies which are compared to two lakes by copious potations," See (VIII. 4, 10 ; V. 36, 1. ; and VIII. 33, 2.) R. V. Again, see (X. 43, 7.) : " The priests magnify him as grain is increased by celestial showers." During the period of chivalry, the myths of Indra underwent great modifications, though its elements remained unaltered. Indra was exalted into a king. He wielded such military arms as the powerful Ksatriyas carried. He lived rather luxuriously, was chivalrous in his love, and possessed a palace like that of an opulent Ksatriya. Indra was specially and almost exclusively the god of the Ksatriyas, whose warlike character was reflected in the description of their Indra. Fond of the pleasant juice of the Soma, sometimes boastful, always confident of his personal prowess, prone to fall out with his companions, and magnificently clad, he drove about in a splendid chariot like a Ksatriya leader. We will quote from the *Ṛik*-Sanhitâ. In (VII. 2, 25.) it is said :—" A heroic female (Nârî) brought him forth, a heroic son." In (I. 82, 5 and 6.) it is said :—" Go exhilarated to thy dear wife." " Be exhilarated with thy wife." In (III. 53, 4.) it is said :—" A wife, Indra, is one's home ; she is a man's dwelling ; therefore,

let thy horses be yoked, and carry thee thither." A chivalrous thought is beautifully expressed. Perhaps a Ksatriya facetiously made the following remark to his better half. In (X. 86, 11.) it is said:— ".I have heard that among all these females Indrâṇî is the most fortunate; for her husband shall never at any future time die of old age." In (III. 30, 3. VIII. 17, 4. and VIII. 81, 4.) the beautiful helmet of Indra is mentioned. In (VIII. 33, 11.) his golden whip and a shining golden car are described. In (I. 30, 16.) his two tawny steeds snorting, neighing, and irresistible, are referred to. He carried a bow and arrows, the favourite military weapons of the Ksatriyas, see (VIII. 45, 4.). His thunder-bolt is often made of gold. But the real thunder-bolt lies in the ocean enveloped in water, see (VIII. 89, 9.). Into (III. 52, 3) the metaphor—"an ardent lover desires his mistress" is introduced. In (V. 37, 4.) it is said:— "The king in whose house the god drinks Soma mixed with milk suffers no calamity, marches at the head of his hosts, slays his enemy and lives tranquilly at home in the enjoyment of happiness." At the time of, or rather before, the invasion of India, the Âryas manifested a tendency to innovation. Society was split up. A great and long contest took place between ancient Âryan conservatives, whose principles of conduct were based on the doctrines they had inherited and reformers who boasted of their new hymns and of their powers as intelligent poets. During this contest, all the myths were spiritualized, (more of this in the sequel). During the period of the invasion of

India, Indra is often invoked as the god of war and victory. As the notions, the Greeks entertained of the Cosmos, were enlarged as they conquered and explored different countries at the time of Alexander the Great, so the notions of the Âryas were enlarged when they entered India.[1] Indra gradually became a deity who represented the principle of power and victory. Some very beautiful hymns are addressed to him in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. The notions of Indra were again modified during the sacrificial period of the Taittirîya and Vâjasaneya activities.

Aditi.

Aditi plays an important part in the creation of the world as well as in the religious development of the ancient Âryas; and the history of her growth will throw considerable light on their religious and cosmological notions. The subject of the origin of the conception of Aditi has been energetically investigated by European scholars of eminence and reputation, and their writings would have proved invaluable, but for their hasty and impatient generalizations. Professor Max Müller whose views are generally sound, and whose

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[1] Our women are specially fond of telling stories. Some of them are perhaps as old as possible. They have been handed down from generations. But there is one thing about them specially deserving notice. Notions unknown to our grand-fathers are quietly introduced into them; and in one sense, a story is adapted to the present time—such notions, for instance, as of the electric telegraph or of a battalion of soldiers called in Marathi Pal*th*a*n*a. Such facts about changes in folklore are important.

power of realizing "men and manners" is poetic, observes, (in his translation of the Rig-Veda, 1. 2, 30.):—"Aditi, an ancient god or goddess, is in reality the earliest name invented to express the infinite; not the infinite as the result of a long process of abstract reasoning, but the visible infinite, visible by the naked eye—the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky." We find it rather hard to realize the exact sense of this passage. What is the nature of the process of abstract reasoning employed for realizing a conception of the Infinite? The conception can be formed by a process of comparison and elimination. In the passage quoted, Professor Max Müller himself describes the nature of this process. Throughout the Rik-Sanhitâ we find the Âryas employing it for arriving at the abstract notions of Spirit, Sin, Intelligence, Time, and the great God-head itself.[1] Dr. J. Muir, who cannot be too much thanked for his labours in bringing together in a systematic way the results of the labours of all Sanskritists of reputation, not however without careful study and research, candidly admits :—" But even if we suppose that in the preceding passages, it is in-

[1] The words for Prâna, Asu, Manas, Pâpa, Durita, Enas, Akûti, Kâla, &c. are often used. These are compared and contrasted. The negative conceptions are expressed. And thus gradually the sense of the abstract is, to a certain extent, fixed. *Vide* (I. 164, 45.) of the Rik-Sanhitâ where the idea of the God-head is expressed. The passage is important as it discovers the process by which such conceptions are formed. Kâla or Time is deified in the Atharva-veda-Sanhitâ. The passage is well-known. The word occurs in the Rik-Sanhitâ only once, and that in the sense of a battle. *Vide* the Rik-Sanhitâ (X. 42, 9.). From particulars a general idea appears to be formed.

tended to identify Aditi with the sky, this identification is very far from being consistently maintained in the hymns. And it is equally difficult to take the word as a constant synonym of the earth." The truth is, such would be the result of any investigation that should not be based on the correct principle of the recognition of the growth of abstract conceptions during long historical periods when society passed through different stages of civilization. We do not mean that the ancient Âryas threw off, as a snake casts skin, all its institutions and customs, and repudiated its notions of religious and social polity when it passed from one stage to another. We believe that during the pastoral period no chivalrous institution or conception could be developed, for the pastoral period is chronologically antecedent to that of chivalry; but during the period of chivalry, savages —hunting down wild animals and eating them half-cooked might be met with shepherds, still living a nomadic life and dependent on their cattle and sheep for food and simple clothing without any fixed habitations—might abound. A line of demarcation could be drawn between peasants, not aspiring to rise to the level of what are called upper classes, but content with the status allotted to them by their social and religious leaders and devoted to agricultural pursuits and the military and sacerdotal classes who regulate the affairs of society and whose voice in all matters of social and religious polity, is supreme. Such is almost the condition of most of the Asiatic nations at the present day. In a community, generally a section of the people awakened from its torpor by some favourable circumstances, makes rapid progress

and the other sections placed at a disadvantage lag behind—yes, those who cannot energize and whose intellectual and moral activities cannot be called out.[1] We have explained our statement rather at length that it may not be misunderstood. Professor Roth describes Aditi "as a goddess associated with Diti without any distinct conception and merely as it appears as a contrast to her." Professor Max Müller (in his translation of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ, 1. 244.) goes a step further and remarks that the original reading in (VII. 15, 12.) of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ, was Aditi, and that Diti has been substituted by later writers. We believe that the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ has been so carefully preserved that not a syllable has been omitted, added or interpolated. As our theory of the growth of civilization can satisfactorily explain the Vaidika passage in question, the *onus probandi* lies on those who assert the contrary. The ground being thus prepared, we will attempt to answer the question—what is the origin of the conception of Aditi? We must premise by stating that a negative notion or conception is not possible without a positive notion of which it is a negative, and that Aditi is a nega-

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[1] Take any Indian town and all the strata of civilization will be seen. For instance, the Marâthâ Râjâ with his Râja-*man*ḍala is a section by itself. All the Brâhma*ṇ*as form a social section by themselves. These are advanced classes. But by the side of these, we have wild hunters as unpolished as any in the world, for instance, the Bhils, shepherds who live now as they lived three thousand years ago, and cultivators who form the real middle-class. Their songs, their pleasures, their customs, and their folklore, essentially differ. But when a shepherd rises to be a prince by dint of valour, he combines in his advanced status the chivalrous and pastoral. The customs of the family of the Holkars are interesting in this connection.

tive conception : that which is not Diti is Aditi. During the first stage of civilization, mountain-fastnesses and cavities, the lairs of wild beasts at once fiery and ferocious, as well as the recesses of forests where animals of game lurked—these were called Diti, because they were *divided* as they were scattered and cut up, while extensive plains, grassy as well as bushy, seemed continuous : these were Aditi. A distinction like this is well-known to wild tribes in the plateaus of Mahârâ*s*tra. The notion of Aditi as here explained is expressed by the word Pâ*th*âra which is distinguished from Kha*d*apa or rocky recesses and cavities—Pâ*th*âra being that which is like back or has a back, from Marâthî Pâ*th*a (Sanskrit P*ri*s*th*a) and Kha*d*apa—a hiding place (perhaps from Sansk*r*it *khad* to dig) onomatopoetically formed. The hunters never knew any danger so long as they lay or walked on the surface of the former, for no wild animal could dare venture out on the open plain where it could be easily pursued or beset and killed. Aditi, therefore, in the first stage of civilization simply meant a plain free from the ravages of beasts of prey. During the second period—the pastoral stage, sheep and cattle grazed on the plains ; watched by dogs, they were let loose ; the shepherd reclined on the banks of rivulets which afforded sufficient recreation to him. With Diti notions of horror and danger might be associated, though sometimes she is referred to as beneficent, because she afforded pleasure derived from the pursuit of wild animals and rewarded stalwart hunters with plenty of good game. Gradually

houses rose on the surface of Aditi. Farms were laid out, the rivulets were dammed, and small channels pleasantly distributed water and irrigated their lands. Aditi showed in the language of Cowper (Retirement 423-24.):—

> "Downs that almost escape the enquiring eye,
> "That melt and fade into the distant sky."

Aditi inspired bards and priests even during the pastoral period. The shepherds observed the sky and felt that Aditi corresponded to it. She was at first a Pastyâ—a cattle-pound,[1] then a mother in the sense of giving protection, and lastly a goddess who gave birth to gods themselves. When an abode or a thrashing-floor, for both were then identical, she was produced by handiness or skill (Daksa), and she produced Daksa or skill, for rude artizans, being paid in grain or kind, depended on the thrashing-floor for their maintenance. We will quote a few verses from the Rik-Sanhitâ in support of our statements. "In (IV. 55, 3.), she is styled Pastyâ which Professor Roth understands to mean a household goddess." We believe *Pastyâ* to be a cattle-pound, because it is most likely that it is derived from the same root from which the word *pashu* (cattle) is derived, *viz.*, *Pash* to bind. In (VII. 15, 12.) Diti is said to confer what is desirable. In (I. 24, 1.) "Who shall give us back to the great Aditi that I may behold my father and mother" occurs. The story of Shunashepha seems to us to be one of the oldest

[1] This sense is based on a direct text of the Taittiriya Brâhmana, in which the word Pastyâ occurs, and it is interpreted by Mâdhava into a house—the sense given to the word by Yâska in his Nirukta.

Âryan legends. It is one of those rude tragic songs which wild tribes sing. It was altered from time to time and enlarged, the sum and substance was put into prose at the time of the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, and was connected with the efficiency of a sacrifice; and it was added that Indra appeared to the son of Harishchandra in the disguise of a Brâhmaṇa. In later mythology, the story of Harischandra was again enlarged. Aditi, in the verse quoted, originally meant the plain on which the parents of Shunashepha dwelt or the tragic story would lose its point if the dead parents be supposed to be spoken of. In (VII. 12, 4.) "she is declared to have produced a hymn to Indra." Here Aditi is the same as the Âryas. In (IX. 72, 4.) the birth of Dakṣa from Aditi and the birth of Aditi from Dakṣa are described. The conception is old, but its description in the hymn is mixed up with much that essentially belongs to the period of invasion; for the incident of the mutual generation was popular as it is more than once referred to in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ. Gradually she became an important goddess. In (I. 89, 10.) it is said:—"Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the air; Aditi is the mother, father, and son; Aditi is all the gods, and the five tribes; Aditi is whatever has been born; Aditi is whatever shall be born"—a passage to be found in the Sanhitâs of the Taittirîyas and Vâjasaneyins—a passage which the rationalists of the time of Yâska led by Koutsa laid great stress upon, when they insisted on the Vedas being no divine revelation[1]—a passage quoted by the commentators of

[1] *Vide* the Nirukta of Yâska, (I. 15.).

Jaimini in illustration of his Sûtras.[1] The conception of Aditi culminated in the idea of infinity itself, for in the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ in the words of Dr. Muir the following occurs:—"Supporter of the sky, sustainer of the earth, sovereign of this world, wife of Vishnu, may the all embracing and powerful Aditi filling us with vigour, be auspicious to us (abiding) in her lap!!"

Gods—Dyous, Prithivî, Usas, Agni, Parjanya, and Vâyu.

Dyous and Prithivî (heaven and earth), Usas (morn), Agni (fire), Parjanya (rain), and Vâyu—all these are such gods as can be easily identified with natural phenomena. Their descriptions are, however, anthropopathic. This circumstance accounts for the legends of their families and relations. There are inconsistencies, in some cases serious, and in others slight, in their characterization. All these can be satisfactorily explained, we believe, if our theory of the gradual growth of civilization be recognized. We will quote a few verses in illustration of our remarks. Dyous and Prithivî are referred to in (X. 31, 7.) of the Rik-Sanhitâ—a poet asks:—"What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth, which abide undecaying and perpetual, (whilst) the days and many dawns have disappeared?"[2] In (X. 81, 23.):—"What was the support, and what was the basis, from which by his might, the all-seeing Vishvakarman produced the earth, and spread out the sky? The one god who

1 *Vide* Jaimini's Pûrva-Mîmânsâ (I. 2, 36.) and the Commentary of Khandeva called Mîmânsâ-Koustubha or Shâbara-Bhâsya.

2 Dr. Muir's Texts, (Vol. V. page 32.).

has on every side eyes, faces, arms and feet, blows with his arms and wings when producing the heaven and earth."[1] Certainly the *Rishis* who had learnt to philosophize about matter and spirit, and to distinguish between good and evil, and whose notions of Agni and Vâyu had already become sublime and worthy of thinkers, at once deep and poetic, could not be believed to be capable of confusion of thought and expression. We will explain the ideal of a *Rishi* in the sequel. The notions of the heaven and the earth as elaborated in these verses, are the most ancient, and belong to the time when man cast a glance at the heavens above, and realized the extent of the earth he trod, and struck with wonder exclaimed:—"The earth is the mother, and I am the son of the earth. Parjanya is the father, may he nourish us."[2] And again "reverence be paid to the earth: the wife of Parjanya, to her who draws her richness from showers."[3] Though these verses occur in the Atharva-veda, they are most ancient and belong to the pastoral period. Usas (morning) was exalted into a goddess during the agricultural period. Agriculturists are specially active in the morning. They let out their cattle to graze as early in the morning as possible, for they have to spend the whole of their day on their farms. Again, the Smârta-sacrifices during this period were performed in the morning, when the Gârhapatya-fire was kindled, and when religious influences acted

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1 *Vide* the preceding note.

2 *Vide* the Atharva-veda (XII. 1, 12.) and Dr. Muir's Texts, (Vol. V. page 23.).

3 *Vide* the same Veda and the same hymn.

on the mind. All this is beautifully described in the *Rik*-Sanhitâ (I. 48, 4-5-6.):—"Kanva, the chief of his race, here celebrates the name of those wise men who at thy approaches, O Usas, direct their thoughts to liberality. Like an active woman, Usas advances cherishing (all things). She hastens on arousing footed creatures, and makes the birds fly aloft. She sends forth both the active and beggars (to their occupation); lively, she loves not to stand still; the flying birds no longer rest after thy dawning, O bringer of food."[1] A song of the chivalrous period may be quoted by way of illustration:—"As a woman who has no brother appears in presence of (another) man, as a man mounted on a chariot goes forth in pursuit of wealth, as a loving wife shows herself to her husband, so does Usas as it were, smiling, reveal her form," see (I. 92, 7.) of the *Rik*-Sanhitâ.[2] Again, "These dawns have become conspicuous; they display their lustre in the eastern hemisphere; like bold warriors drawing forth their weapons, the ruddy mother-cows advance."[3] Into this verse (I. 92, 1.) an epithet peculiar to the agricultural period—mother-cows—which had become stereotyped in the language, is naturally introduced, and brings the use of chivalrous phrases into strange relief. In (I. 113, 6.)—it is said:—"(arousing) one to seek royal power, another to follow after fame, another for grand efforts, another to pursue, as it were, his particular object,—

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1 *Vide* Dr. Muir's Texts, (Vol. V. page 183.).
2 *Vide* the same (page 185.).
3 *Vide* the same.

Usas awakes all creatures to consider their different modes of life."[1] We have quoted rather freely, for the quotations serve two purposes: they support the statements we make, and adduce indirectly evidence in favour of our theory of the gradual growth of the ancient Âryan civilization. "Dr. Muir beautifully brings together a few verses:—like a beautiful young woman dressed by her mother, a richly dressed dancing girl—a gaily attired wife appearing before her husband, or a female rising resplendent out of the bath,—smiling and confiding in the irresistible power of her attractions, she unveils her bosom to the gaze of the beholder."[2] The beautiful Usas awakened in the minds of the poet delicate chivalrous feelings. Agni (fire) was kindled in the morning. The whole family gathered around it. During the pastoral period, only clarified butter was offered into it. During the agricultural period, twice a month, on the days of new and full moon, a cake prepared on potsherds which were shaped in imitation of a cow's foot, was offered into it. Agni was the tutelary god of every household. In (VI. 14, 6,) it is said:—"Those matters relating to the sacrifice which we mortals of feeble intellects with our imperfect comprehension, do not understand. May Agni, the venerated priest, who knows all these points, adjust and worship the gods at the proper time." The sacred fire inspired awe and love, was at once a friend and priest, and was a visible god who conveyed the oblations of mortals to all gods. In (X. 150, 4.) it is said:—"He is a

1 *Vide* Dr. Muir's Texts, (Vol. V. page 189.).

2 *Vide* Dr. Muir's Texts, (Vol. V. page 194.).

swift messenger moving between heaven and earth, commissioned both by gods and men to maintain their mutual communications, to announce to the immortals the hymns, and to convey to them the oblations of their worshippers or to bring them down from the sky to the place of sacrifice."[1] After the Âryan invasion of the Punjab, the notions which the Âryas entertained of Agni were enlarged and ennobled. They perceived his power in the plants, in waters, in mountains, in lightnings, and in man himself.[2] From these points of view, his praises and powers are described. The generation of Agni is the cardinal point of every saçrifice. If he was not produced quickly, the whole family was alarmed. The mistress of the house confessed her sins. The lord of the family sang his praises. The dialogues in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ between Pûruravas and Urvashî refer to the two pieces of wood. It is the germ of the story of the hero and heroine of the names of Pûruravas and Urvashî. In the sacrificial system, the two pieces (ara*n*is) of wood by which fire is produced are called Pûruravas and Urvashî. Poetry of every description centres around Agni. "He consumes his parents" was the way in which he was mythologically spoken of. He burnt forests. In (III. 2, 11.) it is said:— "when he has yoked his red, wind-driven horses to his car, he bellows like a bull, and invades the forest trees with his flames; the birds are terrified

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[1] *Vide* Dr. Muir's Texts, (Vol. V. page 201.).

[2] In the poem entitled the *Ri*si, all the verses of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ bearing on Agni as described here are brought together.

at the noise, when his grass-devouring sparks arise." Even cosmology is helped by Agni for he is declared to have formed the mundane regions and the luminaries of heaven in (VI. 7, 7.); to have kept asunder the two worlds in (VI. 8, 3.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ; to have begotten Mittra in (X. 8, 4.); to have caused the sun, the imperishable orb to ascend the sky; to have made all that flies or walks or stands or moves in (X. 88, 4.); to adorn the heavens with stars in (I. 65, 5.). In (VIII. 23, 15.) it is said:—"No mortal enemy can by any wondrous power gain the mastery over him who sacrifices to this god." These verses are quoted to show the power of Agni. During the period of chivalry, it appears that Indra and Soma had begun to supersede him. The *Ri*k-Sanhitâ significantly and suggestively exhorts the new *Ri*sis or worshippers as well as the ancient *Ri*sis to praise Agni.[1] Yet during the period of the invasion, he is often asked "to create a large light for the Âryas, driving out the Dasyus," in (VII. 5, 6.). *Parjanya* (rain), also early attracted attention and was praised; but the phenomena of rain and of the atmosphere were not independently observed. *Vâyu* or wind is mentioned along with Indra, Rudra, and the Maruts. The Ashvins elicited much interest and gave rise to an interesting myth, the *rationale* of which has baffled the ingenuity of European scholars. The phenomenon of rain, however, is poetically described, and the Maruts are associated with it. In (V. 83, 4, 5, and 7.) it is said:—"The winds

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1 *Vide* the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (I. 1, 1.).

blow, the lightnings fall, the plants shoot up, the heaven fructifies, food is produced for all created things, when Parjanya, thundering, replenishes the earth with moisture." "Parjanya, before whose agency the earth bows down, at whose operation all hoofed cattle quiver; by whose action plants of every form spring up; so thou grant us thy mighty protection." "Grant to us, Maruts, the rain of the sky; replenish the streams of the procreative horse; come hither with this thy thunder, our divine father shedding waters." "Resound, thunder, impregnate, rush hither and thither with thy water-chariot. Draw on forward with thee thy opened and inverted water-skin; let the hills and dales be levelled." "Raise aloft thy vast water-vessel and pour down showers; let the discharged rivulets roll on forward, moisten the heaven and earth with fatness; let there be well-filled drinking places for the cows."[1] Dr. Bühler in his German paper on Parjanya comes to the conclusion that "Parjanya is the god of thunder-storms and rain, the generator and nourisher of plants and living creatures." We believe that Parjanya was never distinctively characterized by the ancient Âryans. Rudra was the god of thunder-storms and the protector of cattle. The Maruts represented the variety of atmospheric phenomena. Indra ruled over them as well as associated with them as a companion. We quote Dr. Muir in support of this statement:—"Together with Indra, he is

[1] The long passage is quoted from Dr. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, (Vol. V. page 141.).

designated as touching the sky, swift as thought, wise, thousand-eyed (1-23-2-3.)." In (X. 168.) a poet sings:—" (I celebrate) the glory of Vâta's chariot, its noise comes rending and resounding. Touching the sky, he moves onward making all things ruddy: and he comes propelling the dust of the earth."[1]

Mittra and Varuṇa.

These were originally merely the names of day and night. Mittra etymologically signifying the measurer, and Varuṇa, the coverer. Hence the day was associated with human activities, and the night was naturally supposed to bind human beings in its meshes as they slept, yet sleep renovated their powers, and though unconscious, man was protected during sleep. Hence the notion of beneficence was associated with Varuṇa. Now the question is:—how did the conception of the night come to convey the notion of the lord of waters? As the idea of Aditi—first space and then infinity—was developed out of the idea of extensive downs, so the idea of the night served to convey the idea of the ocean. Chronologically, the conception of the night precedes the conception of the expanse of the ocean—a conception which can be realized after the construction of boats, however rude and small. The night presents the phenomenon of an expanse which resembles that of the ocean in colour, in extent, in depth, and in undulating motion.[2] Hence

[1] See Muir's Sanskrit Texts, (Vol V. page 145.).

[2] See the paragraph on Aditi.

the idea of the one naturally expressed the idea of the other. The god of night became the god of waters. But by no process of reasoning, however elaborate, can Varuṇa be identified with Ahura Mazda. The Mazdayasnians who formed an important section of the Âryan race, are more to be contrasted than compared with the progressive[1] Âryas who had lagged behind, composing new hymns and out-stripping the neighbouring tribes in intellectual pursuits and spiritual aspirations, often identifying themselves with their gods and calling upon them to associate with them as their companions. We will quote from the Ṛik-Sanhitâ a few verses to illustrate and support our remarks:— In (VIII. 41, 3.) it is said:—" The conspicuous god has embraced the nights." In (VII. 59.) it is said :—" Mittra uttering his voice calls men to activity. Mittra sustains the earth and sky. Mittra with unwinking eye beholds (all) creatures." " The vast Mittra who by his greatness transcends the sky and the earth by his glory." In (VIII. 49, 31.) it is said : —" May those (waters) in the midst of which king Varuṇa goes, beholding the truth and falsehood of men." The spiritual conception of Varuṇa was developed during the period of the schism about which we shall have to state much. We have attempted to point out what the idea of Mittra and Varuṇa during the agricultural period was. Gradually the gods Mittra and

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[1] See the paragraphs on the colonization of Europe in the sequel, and the force of the epithet *progressive* will be perceived. The schism between the Mazdayasnians and the progressive Âryas is described in the sequel, its causes and bearings being also discussed.

Varu*n*a[1] were so spiritualized from the circumstances in which the Âryas were placed that it is difficult to trace the history of their origin and growth. This much being stated, the functions, attributes and characteristic marks of the gods Mittra and Varu*n*a will be seen, as they were originally conceived by the Âryas. When we describe the contests between Mazdayasnians, the followers of Zarthustra and the chivalrous Âryas who sang in rapturous strains of the intoxicating Soma, we shall have to return to the gods Mittra and Varu*n*a.

Soma.

This was specially worshipped during the period of chivalry. The songs of Soma which absorb a Ma*n*dala of the *R*ik-Sanhitâ, reveal a civilization

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[1] Among the lower orders in Mahârâstra, no distinction is made between a day and the sun. *Divasa* means the sun as well as a day. A peasant asks :—how much has the day come? Varu*n*a is the oldest name for night. It is not mentioned in this sense in any book. But the names of night (Râtri a night) as given in the Nigha*n*tu by Yâska, throw light on the name—Varu*n*a. The night is Aktu—ointment as covering the universe. It is darkness—Tamas. It is Rajas or Payas—water. It is Ûrmyâ or having waves as of a sea. Again Ksapas means water, and Ksapâ means a night. These synonyms facilitate the investigation as to the origin of the conception of Varu*n*a. In this connection a traditional line deserves notice :—"Tamas khalu chalam nîlam parâparavibhâgavat." "*Vyoma*" which means the heavens is given as the synonym of *water* by Yâska. Hence the ideas of the ocean and of the night or darkness are interchangeable in a stage of civilization. The different stages of the development of the idea of Varu*n*a may be thus summed up. I. Varu*n*a—darkness or night, and one possessed of meshes. II. Varu*n*a—ocean or firmament. III. Varu*n*a—lord of waters. IV. One who aided sailors—a beneficent god.

which is wholly feudal and chivalrous. Most of them are recited at the Soma sacrifices every way characteristic of chivalry. The Shrouta-system of sacrifices which we have referred to, bears out our statements. Yet Soma was known to, and used by, the Âryas when they were mere hunters—a fact which we have already mentioned. A few hymns quoted will elucidate the nature of the description of Soma as given in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. We have arranged the hymns so as to indicate the progressive development of the conceptions about Soma. In the words of Dr. Muir :—" His weapons which, like a hero, he grasps in his hand (IX. 76, 2.) are sharp and terrible (IX. 61, 30.); and his bow swift-darting," (IX. 90, 3.). " He is the slayer of Vrittra," (IX. 25, 3.). " He is the chief and most fiery of the formidable, the most heroic of heroes, the most bountiful of the beneficent, and as a warrior, he is always victorious," (IX. 66, 16.). " He conquers for his worshippers cows, chariots, horses, gold, heaven, water, a thousand desirable things, (IX. 78, 4.)." " When quaffed, it stimulates the voice and calls forth ardent conceptions," (VI. 47, 3). This verse shows that from the mere objective, the Âryas rose to the subjective. Again we will quote Dr. Muir :—(VIII. 48, 3.). " The worshippers exclaim : —We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us or what can the malice of any mortal effect? O thou immortal god ?" In (IX. 113.) it is said :— " Place me, O purified water, in that everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and

glory. O Soma, flow for Indra. Make me immortal in the world where king Vaivasvata lives, where is the innermost sphere of the sky, where those great waters flow." The conception of Soma originated in its mere stimulating powers and in the course of different periods of progress, was developed into a power which secures heaven and immortality for man.[1]

Sûrya, Pûshan, and Savitri.

Sûrya presents a cosmical phenomenon, which cannot but awaken feelings of reverence at the earliest time possible. Savitri was originally the autumnal sun whose light and heat were essential to the development of the seed sown into a sprout after it rained in showers for some time. Pûshan nourished the growth of crops. Thus the sun looked at from different points of view explains the different names he assumed. The English speak of the harvest-moon. The modern Sanskrit literature speaks of the *Sharat-chandra* or vernal moon. These conceptions grew up during the agricultural period, invariably prolific in interesting myths. We will quote a few hymns to elucidate the nature of these gods. In (VII. 78, 3.), the dawns are by a natural figure, said "to produce the Sûrya along with Sacrifice and Agni." The hymn (1, 50.) is interesting as it sings of the Sûrya in a way characteristic

[1] The nature and functions of the god Soma will not be comprehended, if the light thrown by the fourth and fifth chapters of the third Book of the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ of Jaimini be ignored. The ancient Âryas were particularly fond of the Soma-juice. See *Sa*ddarshana-Chintanikâ, Vol. III.

of the ancient Âryas :—" O thou, O Sûrya, penetratest the sky, the broad firmament measuring out the days with thy rays spying out all creatures. Seven ruddy mares bear thee onward in the chariot, O clear-sighted Sûrya, the god with flaming locks." It may be remarked now, that certain epithets are characteristic of a particular period. During the period of agriculture, all gods are more or less described as nourishing plants and crops. During the period of chivalry, they all drive in splendid chariots, chivalrously accoutred. They are all warriors, impetuous and fiery. With regard to Savitri, it is said :—" he observed fixed laws" (IX. 53, 4.). " The other gods follow his lead," (V. 81, 3.). " The waters and wind obey his ordinance," (II. 38, 2.). " The god Savitri hath roused both two-footed and four-footed creatures to pursue their several objects," (I. 124, 1.). In (V. 81.) it is said:—" The wise (Savitri) puts on (manifests) all forms. He hath sent prosperity to biped and quadruped. Savitri, the object of our desire, illuminated the sky. He shines after the path of the dawn. Thou alone art the lord of vivifying power and by thy movements, O god, thou becomest Pûshan." In (X. 139, 1.) it is said :—" Invested with the solar rays, with yellow hair, Savitri raises aloft his light continually from the east. In his energy, the wise Pûshan marches, beholding all worlds, a guardian." A hymn of Pûshan distinctly marks the transition from the mere agricultural period to that of chivalry. In (VI. 58, 2.) Pûshan is described as " guardian of cattle, lord of a house overflowing with plenty." In (VI. 56, 1.) it is said:—" By him who designates Pûshan by saying

this the eater of meal and butter, the god cannot be described. Indra too, the lord of the good, *the most skilful of charioteers* seeks to slay his enemies in company with his friend (Pûshan)." We have laid stress on the epithet—"*The most skilful of charioteers*"—in the above verse to point out its character as belonging to a different period.

The God Tvastṛi.

He deserves the attention of the students of Comparative Mythology. As the implements of husbandry became indispensable, Tvastṛi was specially praised and was the god of the agricultural period. A tribe exalted a poet—who called himself "Praiser of Tvastṛi," or Jarat-tvastri corrupted into Zarathustra to be their leader whose activities produced an interesting schism. Gradually Tvastṛi[1] was named the head or the prince of gods—Asura-mazda—from Asura, a god and from (medhista) most intelligent. As small crafts such as making a ploughshare and other implements of husbandry required skilful and competent artizans, or the construction of a house involved the knowledge of a variety of arts

[1] The Zendâvestâ gives sufficient grounds for identifying Zarathustra with Jarat-tvastṛi or praises of Tvastṛi, because Zarathustra's mission on earth was the consolidation of a tribe passing from the pastoral into the agricultural condition. The difficulties of such a transition are not easily realized. But tribes have to struggle for years before they adapt themselves to the changes which the transitions necessitates. Sufficient light is thrown on this subject by Wallace in his interesting history of Russia. About the Caspian sea, tribes can be deserved in a transition from the pastoral into the agricultural condition.

which competent blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers could alone cultivate, so the different forms of trees, mountains, rivers or of the stars and a multitudinous variety of natural objects could not be shaped but by a superhuman artizan, who was significantly and suggestively named the Tvastri or the chiseller. Every cosmical phenomenon which presented a variety of aspects at once delicate and complex, was believed to be the handi-work of Tvastri. We will quote a few hymns to illustrate our theory. Originally Tvastri was only a skilful worker, (I. 85, 9.) or the omniform or archtype of all forms, (III. 59, 9.). He was gradually believed to impart generative power and to bestow offspring (I. 142, 10.) or to shape all forms, animal as well as cosmical. (III. 4, 9.) declares :—" Tvastri has generated a strong man—a lover of the gods. From Tvastri is produced a swift horse. Tvastri has created the whole world." In (II. 23, 17.), he is said " to be skilled in all Sâma-texts and to have created Brahmanaspati above all creatures." In (X. 53, 9.) he is said " to sharpen the iron-axe of Brahmanaspati, and to forge the thunder-bolts of Indra " (I. 32, 2.)[1]

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[1] This feature of Tvastri's character is easily explained. The *Rishis*, when they uttered their prayers unpremeditated and on the spur of the moment, felt that they chiselled them in their mind. The metaphor is suggestive and close. But the god who chiselled the material world and shaped it differed from the god who was the lord of prayers: Tvastri differed from Brahmanaspati. Yet the metaphor of chiselling prayers pointed to a connection between them. The verses like (X. 71, 8.) of the *Rik*-Sanhitâ deserve to be noticed in this connection.

॥ हृदा तष्टेषु मनसो जवेषु यद्ब्राह्मणाः संयजन्ते सखायः ।

Brahmaṇaspati.

This was originally the name of a priest—gradually of the head of all priests, and at last of the god of wisdom and learning. "Brahmaṇaspati now utters a laudatory hymn in which Indra, Varuṇa, Mittra, and the gods have taken up their abode." The time of festivals was the opportunity of popular bards. "This spotless hymn bringing good fortune, may we, O gods, utter on the festivals," (I. 40, 5 and 6.). In (I. 190, 1.) it is said:—"Magnify Brahmaṇaspati, the irresistible, the vigorous, the pleasant-tongued, who ought to be praised with hymns, a shining leader of songs to whom both gods and men listen when he utters praise." (X. 50, 1.) R. S. declares:—"Contemplating Bṛihaspati with the pleasant tongue, who occupies these abodes, and by his power and his voice holds apart the ends of the earth, the ancient Ṛisis is placed them in their front." Brahmaṇaspati, Bṛihaspati and Gaṇapati[1] are identified by the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa as one. We have now prepared the ground for the rational explanation of the complex myth of the Ashvins to whom many an interesting hymn is addressed in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ.

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[1] See the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, (I. 21.) the words are :—गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामह इति ब्राह्मण्स्पत्यं ब्रह्म वै बृहस्पतिः—This is a Commentary on (II. 23, 1.) of the Ṛik-Sanhitâ. *Vide* the fourth chapter of this essay, section on Literature of the Âcharyâ-period, where more light is thrown on Gaṇapati—the lord of the gaṇas. Gaṇapati, though at first Brahmaṇaspati, became about the time of the Purâṇas, the uncouth god Gaṇapati.

The Ashvins.

The speculations of European scholars whether of Dr. Max Müller or of Dr. Goldstücker as to the myth of the Ashvins have not satisfied us. Yet, we believe, the myth can be easily explained. We reproduce the story of the birth of the Ashvins in the words of Dr. Muir, who has so beautifully translated the passage of the *B*rihaddevatâ[1] on the subject. "Tva*str*i had twin children, (a daughter) Sara*n*yû, and (a son) Trishiras. He gave Sara*n*yû in marriage to Vivasvat, to whom she bore Yama and Yamî who were also twins. Creating a female like herself without her husband's knowledge and making the twins over in charge to her, Sara*n*yû took the form of a mare, and departed. Vivasvat, in ignorance, begot on the female who was left, Manu, a royal *Ri*si, who resembled his father in glory. But discovering that the real Sara*n*yû, Tva*str*i's daughter, had gone away, Vivasvat followed her quickly, taking the shape of a horse of the same species as she. Recognizing him in that form, she approached him with the desire of sexual connection, which he gratified. In their haste his seed fell on the ground, and she, being desirous of offspring, smelled it. From this act sprang the two Kumâras (youths) Nâsutya and Dasra, who are lauded as Ashvins (sprung from a horse.)" Dr. Max Müller brings a kind of evidence in his Lectures on

1 *Vide* the quotation of Sâya*n*a on (VII. 72, 2.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ from *B*rihaddevatâ. *Vide* the Nirukta of Yâska (XII. 10 and 11.) where the same story is told. *Vide* also the (X. 17, 12.) with the Commentary of Madhavâchârya Sâya*n*a.

the Science of Language, (page 488 et seq.) in support of his "Dawn theory." But we believe, his theory does not explain every element of the myth of the Ashvins. The marriage of Sara*n*yû with Vivasvat, the identification of Trishiras, the twin children of Sara*n*yû named Yama and Yamî and their identification, Sara*n*yû becoming a mare, the identification of Manu and his mother, Vivasvat becoming a horse; their union, the birth of the Ashvins—these are the elements of the myth as it is described in the Br*i*haddevatâ. If all these elements could be explained on one principle, and by connecting them with one cosmical phenomenon without constructing a special theory, such as the storm-theory of Kühn, we believe, the explanation would at least deserve attention. Tvast*r*i, who shaped all forms—the great divine architect, made Sara*n*yû—the ideal night or personal Night, and Vivasvat, the personal Day—Vivasvat being a generic name signifying whatever shines. The idea of the marriage of the Night with the Day is natural, because they follow one another, that is, the Night cannot live without the Day. The night is also observed to be attended by a star called Trishiras in the Br*i*haddevatâ and Tistrya, of which the Zendâvestâ says:—"The bright, majestic, praise we, which contains the seed of the water, the strong, great, mighty, far-profiting, the great, working on high, renowned from this height and shining from the Navel of waters," (XXIV. (8) 2. of the Khurdah Avesta). Trishiras was originally called Tisya,[1] which was subsequently identified

[1] *Vide* Pâ*n*ini, (I. 2, 63.). At first, there were only two stars, their names being Tisya and Punarvasu. Gradually, more stars came to be included in the constellation. Hence the rule of Pa*n*ini.

with Pusya, the constellation Pusya being particularly favourable to a down-pour of rain. In Kabul and the Panjâb, about the month of Pousa, the month named after the lunar mansion Pusya, the rain falls. Colebrooke in his essay on 'the Hindu Astronomy' observes :—" Pusya, the eighth asterism, is described as an arrow and consists of three stars, the chief of which being also about the middle-most." The name—Trishiras—explains that three stars were considered to form the constellation. Thus Saranyû, the personal Night, was properly considered a sister of the star Trishiras. Yama cannot but be identified with Yima, son of Vivanhâo of the Zendic mythology, the father of Yama and Yima is, therefore, one and the same, —Yama and Yamî being the two stars in the constellation Punarvasû of the Indian Astronomy. Before the time of Pânini, the Punarvasû were only two.[1] Though the number of stars in the constellation was afterwards increased, yet the constellation being called by the same name, the dual form Punarvasû could not be changed. Punarvasû were sometimes called Yamakau or the little Yama and Yami, for Yamakau is the dimunitive form of Yamou, and according to the rules of Ekashesa, as laid down by Pânini, Yamou would include Yama and Yamî. The constellation of Punarvasû is also considered to be particularly favourable to rain, and is generally associated with Pusya, already explained. Yama and Yami then, from the light which the Zendâvestâ sheds on the subject, are the two stars which, from their appearance in the evening, when

[1] *Vide* Pânini (I. 2, 63.).

the day (Vivasvat) unites with the night (Sara*ny*û), were considered to be her children. Sara*ny*û became a mare, that is, short or fast. The phenomenon of the nights becoming short in the rainy season is well-kown. The night became short, and the short night ceased to exist; her place being taken by a long night. As soon as the night became extremely short, she underwent a change and began to be long. The day at this juncture began to be short. He became a horse. The horse overtook the mare at the beginning of the year in the month of Áshvina, so named from the constellation of the Ashvinî. The name of the year in old Sanskrit is Varsa or rain-fall, from V*r*isa to rain. As in England, the years are counted by winters, so in Âriana, the years were counted by the rainy seasons. The constellation of the Ashvinî was, therefore, considered to be the twin-children of the short day and long night. The beginning of the year has been often changed from one lunar mansion to another as the adjustment of the lunar and solar and sidereal systems of computing time has been made. Hence the subject of the beginning of the astronomical year is involved in great confusion. It is no wonder then that Yâska should not understand the myth of Ashvins, especially when it is considered that many customs became obsolete after the *Ri*sis had sung their hymns about the time of the invasion of India. The custom, for instance, of mixing the fire produced by friction with that already kindled in the Gârhapatya is declared to be ancient in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.[1] The new year's day has been always

[1] *Vide* the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a on (X. 90, 16.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.

hailed as a source of delight. It was on the new year's day that the Ashvayujî-sacrifice[1] consisting of an oblation to Rudra, the lord of cattle, was performed. It was on the new year's day that the ancient Âryas decorated their houses, and enjoyed the plentiful dainties prepared by the mistress of the house. It was during the rainy season that new Mantras or Manus were composed, the bright productions of a revived intellect. This was at first the idea of Manu—thought[2] or a thought embodied in a hymn—a son as bright as the father himself—the idea of bright intellect was connected with Revati—the principal star—the first lunar mansion in ancient Indian astronomy—Revati presided over by Pûsan who nourished crops. So the Manu as mentioned in the myth, was originally the star Revati. The Ashvinou introduced the year when man, beasts, and plants—aye, the whole of nature is renovated, and when what is old becomes new: what is aged becomes young. The Ashvinou were, therefore, the great celestial physicians who could restore youth to the aged, and grant life to the dead. During the pastoral and agricultural periods, the myth was originated. Like all other myths, it was modified, during the period of chivalry and the schism or invasion, but the main elements which constituted it could not be omitted. We quote from the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ in the note.[3] In the sacrificial system as developed in the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a, special importance is attached

1 *Vide* Ashvalâyana Grihya Sûtra.

2 *Vide* (X. 71, 8.)—the words हृदा तष्टेषु मनसो जवेषु deserve attention as they show how a poet felt when he sang.

3 See the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (X. 17, 1-2.), where the story of the marriage of Sara*n*yú is succinctly given.

to the Equator (Visuvan)—a fact which demonstrates the attention paid to astronomy. The months were well-known at the time of the *Ri*sis, for in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, the leap-year is mentioned. Just as the Chhandas on account of their influence were often praised by the Brahmavâdins, so the astronomical division into a year, seasons, and months were identified with Prajâpati himself in the Brâhmanical literature. The name *stars* slightly modified is common to all Indo-Germanic languages,—a fact which indicates that the Âryans had learnt to speak of them in a definite manner, and that as they had learnt to attribute their seasons of the year to them, such prominent stars as the Ashvins who ushered in the new year's day could not but be observed, and that the poets could not but sing of their beneficence in renovating nature and in restoring energy to man. Gradually the proper functions of the Ashvins were forgotten, and the good deeds of the gods were remembered in songs, and the Âryans, though they had ceased to realize their personality, associated with them all their feelings of good health and strength. They were invited at any time of the day when a sacrifice was performed. Hence Yâska's observations, though wide of the mark, could be accounted for. The ancient historians attempted to philosophize all mythology into history. Hence their statements as quoted by Yâska are not important. Dr. Goldstucker's explanation of the Ashvins and his admission that they were two kings, whose wonderful deeds led to their deification are based on a radical misapprehension of the conditions under which Yâska—a Nairukta or an etymologist—writes.

The Deva-patnîs.

These are not mentioned in the simple Smârta-sacrifices. Râka, Kuhû, and others are recognized as feminine deities, but they are not developed into the wives of gods—a conception that was originated when the wives of agriculturists became the leaders of their patriarchal families. In the new and full moon sacrifices, the Deva-patnîs have a share of the sacrificial oblation. The Patnî-sanyâjâ[1] offerings are peculiarly theirs. Veiled from the gaze of male spectators, the goddesses made their way to the sacrificial ground. Their oblations are offered into the domestic fire-place. A curtain is carefully used.

We have thus gone over the pre-historic period of the history of the Âryans before they were separated,—before some tribes migrated into the west. The gods were mere hunters so long as their worshippers were hunters. They became pastoral when the Âryan society underwent a change. They were associated with agricultural scenery and undertook to discharge the function of protecting peasants, when farms were cultivated, and when the Âryans sowed and reaped. They drove in chariots, and gallantly loved the fair sex, when the Âryans courted beauty, made war on each other, and aspired after reputation. The stories of their gods formed the literature which satisfied their intellectual wants, engaged the ingenuity of their poets and the logical

[1] The Patnî-Sanyâjâ are an essential part of every sacrifice or Isti. See the treatise on the Darsha-Pûrṇa-masesti.

powers of their philosophers: they satisfied their religious wants: sacrifices were offered to gods: their wrath was appeased: sins were confessed: vows of speaking truth and abstaining from animal food and luxuries of life were made. Yet their creed was simple. They saw their gods: they believed that they associated with them. They were directly helped and directly relieved, and the gods specially cared for their worshippers. Nature easily satisfies the wants of peasants: they sow and they reap: rain regularly aids their labours: the sun punctually warms their crops: the moon sheds her mild light: the Ashvins regularly begin the year. The peasantry all over the world is simple and robust, above disease and vicissitudes of life, except when rain fails them—a vicissitude essential to produce in them the feeling of dependence on a higher power. The festivals such as the Ashvayujî and Agrayaṇa to be specially noticed in the sequel were their only customs. Their folklore consisted of stories of their hunting expeditions or of their sowing operations or of their harvests. The pert sayings of old men regulated their simple concerns of life. Population increased: the conditions of life were altered: Some families acquired influence: chivalry produced new aspirations: the equality between families began to disappear. The clan prospered, as the family was absorbed in it; a pressure of want forced a clan from its residence: new pasture-lands were discovered: the energy of the Âryans explored new regions: enterprising youths ventured far into unknown tracts: the Âryan race expanded. Gradually the Caucasus was crossed by

a tribe which had assumed the name of Sâlva,[1] altered in the course of time into Schlaav. Another tribe crossed the Hellespont and penetrated into Germany. Small boats carried some into Italy. Gradually tribes pressed upon tribes until parts of ancient Europe were settled. As the history of the expansion of the Âryans in the direction of the West throws considerable collateral light on the history of the Indian Âryans, we will attempt a succinct account of the Aryan colonization of Europe.

Comparative Philology.

On the subject of the expansion of the Âryans in the West, Comparative Philology throws sufficient light. Circumstantial evidence—which can be sufficiently cumulated and which can stand as crucial and critical a cross-examination as any scientific lawyer can institute before any tribunal—is available and can be produced. About the end of the agricultural period—when society was in a transition state, when patriarchs had developed into leaders of clans; when young men whose muscles are strengthened by milk, and who can afford sufficient leisure, could be formed into bands and led against an enemy; and when desire for luxury, stimulates ambition, which is fostered by jealousy and which culminates in small expeditions against neighbouring tribes—the Âryans, it appears, began to emigrate from Ariana proper. They appear to have taken two routes. The ancient Schlaavs had no or

[1] Pâṇini mentions Sâlveyas.

faint remembrance of their once being Âryans, while those who crossed the Hellespont cherished the memory of their Âryan institutions.

Âr̂ya, when it is pronounced as a Londoner pronounces *arm* into *harm*, becomes *Hâr̂ya*, and being slightly modified, it passed into Hellas, the name of the Greeks. The Hellespont (Âryapatha) was so named on account of its being the high way of the Âryas. The German tribes converted *Hâr̂ya* into *Her*, which has passed into *Sir* of the English language. All these words in the different languages originally signified a lord or a nobleman, though at first they simply meant a cultivator. Some insignificant tribes, pressed from behind by stronger Âryas, penetrated into Italy and settled in its different parts, husbanding their energy, but occupying the fertile portion of the peninsula under different names. Hence there is no name in Latin that exactly corresponds to *Âr̂ya* in sound, sense, and antiquity. But the proper basis of Comparative Philology is not the identity either of sound or of sense. If the grammar of Latin or Greek should differ from that of Sanskrit, and yet if thousands of words in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, identical so far as their sound and signification are concerned, existed, no ethnological conclusion could be drawn. But on the contrary, if the general structure of the two languages be the same without possessing five words of the same sound and sense, the common origin of the two languages can be at once accepted. The identity of the sound or sense of words is always accidental. Conquest or commerce can produce the result. But the grammatical structure is the re-

sult of processes working for centuries. Identity of grammatical structure, therefore, points to the identity of ethnological origin. Bopp's Comparative Grammar laid the foundation of the science of philology—a work as ingenious in its method and development as it is extensive in the collection of its materials. Prof. Max Müller acted upon these materials, classified them, and stated categorically the conclusions they warrant. The verb to *be* (Sanskrit Bhû) is similarly conjugated in Sanskrit, Luthvanian, Zend, Doric, old Sclaav, Latin, Gothic and Armenian. The conclusion from this grammatical fact is that all these nationalities, many thousands of years ago, spoke the same language or rather the different dialects of the same language, and belonged to the same nation, a nation being defined as that which speaks a common language, recognizing common religious institutions, and inhabiting a common region.

Again, the words for expressing the sacred relations of a family which awaken feelings of love, affection, and attachment in us, and which send a thrill through the heart even though they be pronounced at sixty years of age—long after the individuals to whom they point are dead and burnt away—the words for expressing the relations of father, mother, brother, sister and daughter are identical in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Gothic, Sclavonian and Irish. The ideas of brother and sister are expressed in Greek by *Adelphos* and Adelphe[1]—a fact

[1] Arbhas and Arbhâ are old Vaidika words for young, little and darling. In modern Sanskrit Arbhaka—a child—is met with. Arbhas may pass into Erphas or Elphas, and Arphâ or Arphî may be its

that cannot satisfactorily be explained. The Gothic, Germanic and Sclavonian tribes emigrated almost at the end of the pastoral period, when there is a great deal of restlessness produced by the growth of population which cannot subsist on milk and flesh—their supply being limited—and which has had not as yet learnt to till the ground. The Greeks left last. The ancient Persians and the ancient Âryas waged a religious war. Prof. Max Müller's ingenious etymology of *duhitar* (a daughter), a word common to all languages, strongly confirms our statements about the pastoral period of history. The words for cattle are also the same. We will quote an interesting passage from Professor Max Müller's Chips from a German Work-shop (Vol. II) :—" Fighting among or for the cows (Gosu-Yudh) is used in the Veda as a name for a warrior in general, (I. 112, 22.) and one of the frequent words for battle is Gavisti, literally ' striving for cows.' In the later Sanskrit, however, *Gavesana* means simply research, (physical or philosophical), *gaves*—to enquire. Again, *Gosta* means a cow-pen or stable ; but with the progress of time and civilization, *Gosti* became the name of an assembly, nay it was used to express discussion, and gossip, as gossip in English

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feminine form. But there is a difficulty as to the first part *Ad* common to Adelphos and Adelphi. Vowels at the beginning of words were retained by the Greeks, as in the case of Onomos—a name. So *A* is an essential part of A-elphos or A-elphe. But to avoid hiatus in pronunciation, *d* or *n* is inserted in Latin or Greek for instance, *d* in re*d*undant. Thus *d* was inserted. Hence *Ad*elphos in Greek corresponds to Arbhas and *Ad*elphe, to Arbhâ—darling, little. The word Arbhas is Orbus in Latin, and Arbhas is Elf in the Tuetonic languages. Thus even Adelphos in Greek is an ancient Âryan word. This is at least our view.

too meant originally a god-father or god-mother, and then took the abstract sense of idle conversation or tattle."

"All these words composed with *go*, *cattle*, to which many more might be added if we were not afraid of trying the patience of our less sceptical readers, prove that the people who formed them must have led a half nomadic and pastoral life." Comparative Philology thus supports the theory of the gradual growth of civilization which we have already enunciated, and to which the testimony of Dr. Max Müller, though indirectly borne, adds weight. Words expressing the relations which the union of two families by marriage creates, are identical in the Indo-Germanic language—a fact which supports our statement as to the power of the pater-familias, and the influence of the united family-system, for the husband "was in his house the lord." He was Pati or lord, his house was called *Vis* or the entrance or enclosure. Gradually the Vis became the subjects, and the lord began to assume the power of a king. "Luthvanian Wies-patis, a lord, Wieszpatni, a lady, as compared with Vispati and Vis-patnî," confirms our statement as to the time when the Luthvanians separated. Thus evidence from Comparative Philology can be cumulated to any extent. Suffice it to add, that names for *king*, *queen*, *house*, *door*, *builder*, *village*, *city*, *road*, are almost the same in all Indo-Germanic languages; that "the domestic animals" as Professor Max Müller remarks, "are generally known by the same name in England and India;" that the serpent, the wolf, and the bear were called by the same

name; that the ancient Âryas expressed their ideas of a plough or a farm by the same words; and that the arts of cooking, grinding, baking, weaving, sewing, and using metals were known to the ancient Âryas before they began to expand towards the western regions. We have thus indicated the nature of the evidence which Comparative Philology supplies, and the extent to which it supports our theory. The fact of the emigration or expansion of the Âryan race discovers an important trait in their character. We will now proceed to the examination of the evidence which Comparative Mythology affords.

Comparative Mythology.

European scholars have also devoted special attention to Comparative Mythology. We will summarize their results. Such additions as our humble efforts may be able to make can be easily discerned and distinguished. Nilimpa, a name of a god or his place, seems to be an old word. The essential part of it re-appears in the name, Olympus.[1] *O* at the beginning in Greek is frequently not dropped as in *onomos*, a name, (Sanskrit nâman). The principal gods of the Greek Pantheon are the same as those of the Indian Pantheon: Gaie, Zeus and Uranos correspond to Gou, Dyous and Varuna. Prajâpati, the lord of the whole Creation, is transformed into Poseidon. The identity of Indra, Bacchus and Odin has already been pointed out. Dr. Bühler insists on the identity of Luthvanian Perkunos and of Indian

[1] No philologer has as yet suggested the identification of Nilimpa and Olympus, nor of Bacchus and Bhagus. We have made bold to make this suggestion.

Parjanya. The name of the sun, that luminary which produces the morn, sheds light throughout the day, nourishes plants and crops, and represents fire on earth—a luminary which has always produced those feelings of glory and might, sympathy with man, and unflinching discipline, of love and severity, which have not as yet been analysed—a luminary to which prayers throughout the world are offered under different names—is identical in Sanskrit, Latin and Greek—Surya, Sol, and Helios. In developing his Dawn Theory, Prof. Max Müller attempts to open a new mine in Comparative Mythology and indicates the direction of precious metals. But the mine is yet to be worked: the ores are yet to be collected and smelted, for the identity of Saramâ and Hermes, of Arusî (a Vedic epithet of the Dawn) and Eris and of similar other names, is yet to be supported by such evidence as cannot be doubted. But we have not yet mentioned the god who is in one sense the first in the Pantheon of the Indian Âryas, Romans, and Greeks:—Agni known to the Romans as Ignis, and to the Sclavonians as Ogni. How is it that the Greeks, who separated from the Indian Âryans last, did not preserve a common name for Agni? We believe that the tribes, which formed the Hellenic branch, called Agni by a name which has its traces in Sanskrit. Greek Pyros was developed out of Sanskrit Barhis, a name of Agni.[1] We will quote a verse of the *Ṛik*-Sanhitâ in support of this statement.[2] The functions of a special

[1] We have suggested this identity for the first time, which may be taken at its worth.

[2] *Vide* (II. 3, 4.) of the *Ṛik*-Sanhitâ: In the Nighaṇtu, Barhis is given as the name of fire (V. 2.).

god called Tvast*ri* were attributed to Vulcan. But originally the different functions of Tvast*ri* were performed by different gods till the personality of Tvast*ri* was developed. The Greeks, who left their native country (Ârianâ) after the Latin tribes, after the Germanic and the Sclavonian tribes, had ceased to form a part of the Âryan community still clinging to Ârianâ, and developing the arts of social life. The period of chivalry specially necessitated the distinctive worship of Tvast*ri*, the celestial artizan, though during the agricultural period the shape of the plough-share had awakened a feeling of adoration. We will quote Professor Max Müller:—(Lectures on the Science of Language. Second Series, pp. 455-459). "The *Âdityas*, the *Vasus*, the *Asuras*, and other names, had fallen back in the onward race of the human mind towards the highest conception of the Divine; the *Devas* alone remained to express *theós*, *deus*, God. Even in the Veda, where these glimpses of the original meaning of *deva*, brilliant, can still be caught, *deva* is likewise used in the same sense in which the Greeks used *theós*." Thus the name of God is the same. The word Deva awakened similar feelings in the minds of the Âryas wherever they roamed. Again, the passages which speak of the mythology of the Germans are quoted in the words of the author, because we believe it to be unfair to an author to reproduce his statements and researches in our own words—a practice common among modern authors:—"There is but little to be said about the corresponding words in the Teutonic branch, fragments of which have been collected by

that thoughtful scholar, Jacob Grimm. In name the Eddic god *Týr* (gen. *Tys*, acc. *Ty*) answers to the Vedic *Dyu*, and the Old Norse name for *dies Martis* is *Tysdagr*. Although in the system of the Edda *Odhin* is the supreme god, and *Tyr* his son, traces remain to show that in former days *Tyr*, the god of war, was worshipped as the principal deity by the Germans. In Anglo-Saxon, the name of the god does no longer occur independently, but traces of it have been discovered in *Tiwesdæg*, Tuesday. The same applies to Old High-German, where we find *Ziestac* for the modern *Dienstag*. Kemble points out names of places in England, such as *Tewesley*, *Tewing*, *Tiwes mêre*, and *Tewes born*, and names of flowers, such as the Old Norse *Týsfiola*, *Týrhjalm*, *Týsvior* as containing the name of the god.

Besides this proper name, Grimm has likewise pointed out the Eddic *tîvar*, nom. plur., the gods.

Lastly, whatever may have been said against it, I think that Zeuss and Grimm were right in connecting the *Tuisco* mentioned by Tacitus with the Anglo-Saxon *Tiw*, which, in Gothic, would have sounded *Tiu*. The Germans were considered by Tacitus, and probably considered themselves, as the aboriginal inhabitants of their country. In their poems, which Tacitus calls their only kind of tradition and annals, they celebrated as the divine ancestors of their race, *Tuisco*, sprung from the Earth, and his son *Mannus*. They looked, therefore, like the Greeks, on the gods as the ancestors of the human family, and they believed that in the beginning life sprang from that inexhaustible soil which gives support and nourishment to man, and for

which in their simple language they could find no truer name than Mother Earth. It is easy to see that the *Mannus* here spoken of by Tacitus as the son of *Tuisco*, meant originally man, and was derived from the same root *man*, to measure, to think, which in Sanskrit yielded *Manu*. *Man*, or, in Sanskrit, *Manu*, or *Manus*, was the proudest name which man could give to himself, the Measurer, the Thinker, and from it was derived the Old High-German *mennisc*, the Modern German *Mensch*. This *mennisc*, like the Sanskrit *manushya*, was originally an adjective, a patronymic, if you like: it meant the son of man. As soon as *mennisc* and *manushya* became in common parlance the recognised words for man, language itself supplied the myth, that *Manus* was the ancestor of the *Manushyas*. Now *Tuisco* seems but a secondary form of *Tiu*, followed by the same suffix which we saw in *mennisc*, and without any change of meaning. Then why was Tuisco called the father of Mannu? Simply because it was one of the first articles in the primitive faith of mankind, that in one sense or other they had a father in heaven. Hence *Mannu* was called the son of *Tuisco*, and this *Tuisco*, as we know, was, originally, the Âryan god of light. These things formed the burden of German songs to which Tacitus listened. These songs they sang before they went to battle, to stimulate their courage, and to prepare to die. To an Italian ear it must have been a wild sound, reverberated from their shields, and hence called *barditus* (shield-song, Old Norse *bardhi*, shield). Many a Roman would have sneered at such poetry and such music. Not so Tacitus. The

emperor Julian, when he heard the Germans singing their popular songs on the borders of the Rhine, could compare them to nothing but the cries of birds of prey. Tacitus calls them a shout of valour (concentus virtutis). He likewise mentions (Ann. ii. 88) that the Germans still kept up the memory of *Arminius* in their songs, and he describes (Ann. ii. 65) their night revellings, where they sang and shouted till the morning called them to fresh battles.

The names which Tacitus mentions, such as Mannus, Tuisco, &c., he could of course repeat by ear only, and if one considers the difficulties of such a task, it is extraordinary that these names, as written down by him, should bend themselves so easily to etymological explanation. Thus Tacitus states not only that *Mannus* was the ancestor of the German race, but he likewise mentions the names of his three sons, or rather the names of the three great tribes, the *Ingævones*, *Iscævones* and *Herminones*, who derived their origin from the three sons of Mannus. It has been shown that the *Ingævones* derive their name from *Yng*, *Yngo*, or *Ynguio*, who, in the Edda and in the Beowulf, is mentioned as living first with the Eastern Danes and then proceeding on his car eastward over the sea. There is a northern race, the *Ynglings*, and their pedigree begins with *Yngvi*, *Niöror*, *Frayr*, *Fiölnir*, (Odin), *Svegdir*, all names of divine beings. Another genealogy, given in the *Ynglinga-sage*, begins with Niöror, identifies *Frayr* with *Yngvi*, and derives from him the name of the race.

The second son of *Mannus*, *Isco*, has been identified by Grimm with *Askr*, another name of the

first-born man. *Askr* means likewise ash-tree, and it has been supposed that the name *ash* thus given to the first man came from the same conception which led the Greeks to imagine that one of the races of man sprang from ash-trees (ἐκ μελιᾶν). Alcuin still uses the expression, son of the ash-tree, as synonymous with man. Grimm supposes that the *Iscævones* lived near the Rhine, and that a trace of their name comes out in *Asciburgium* or *Asciburg*, on the Rhine, where, as Tacitus had been wildly informed, an altar had been discovered dedicated to *Ulysses*, and with the name of his father *Laërtes*.

The third son of *Mannus*, *Irmino*, has a name decidedly German. *Irmin* was an old Saxon god, from whom probably both *Arminius* and the *Herminones* derived their names."[1]

Comparative Sphagiology.

The community of language is proved by Comparative Philology. The community of creed and religious stories is proved by Comparative Mythology The community of customs is proved by the com-

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1 We have quoted this long passage to show what the state of Comparative Mythology is, how far the science itself has advanced, what light it bids fair to throw on the period of history we treat of, and what connection Comparative Mythology establishes between the different branches of the Indo-European family. Cox, in his work on the Mythology of the Âryan Nations, has attempted to collect information on the subject. But it must be owned that the science of Comparative Mythology is as yet in its infancy, for as yet, facts to be generalized are to be collected, classified and examined. But a beginning is earnestly made.

parison of religious institutions such as sacrifices and offerings to manes, a science or a system which has not as yet secured for itself a recognized name—a fact which demonstrates that historians or philologers have not devoted sufficient time or attention to the interesting branch. We will call it Comparative Sphagiology,[1] which investigates religious institutions such as sacrifices. We believe that this is an important branch, more important than Comparative Philology or Comparative Mythology. An illustration will explain easily what we have to say. In a judicial court, the evidence of witnesses is given. Their statements are compared, and sifted, and a point at issue is decided. But in the meantime documentary evidence is discovered and is produced in court. The latter throws new light, and the original decision is reversed. But the point at issue happens to be about a boundary line. While the documentary evidence is sifted and interpreted, a third kind of evidence is discovered :—a strong masonry-wall buried under ground, and in-

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[1] Sphagiology comes from the Greek word *Sphagion*—a sacrifice, and *logos*—a description. Sphagion, however, seems to be connected with the Sanskrit word Sphâyana, which means increase as it comes from the root Sphai, to augment. The past participle Sphîta means prosperous. The autumnal increase was originally called Sphâyana secondly, that which was done to mark the sense of obligation with which the increase was welcomed—*i.e.*, a sacrifice. The sword used on the occasions of all sacrifices is called Sphya in the sacrificial literature. It is to be connected with the root Sphai—the sword Sphya being the means of increase. Though the sacrificial Sphya has the form of a sword, it is used as well for digging or making a piece of land smooth as for martial purposes. The Greek word *Sphagion* is thus important.

tended to fix the boundary line. This evidence, though opposed to the statements of witnesses or to the documents already produced before the court, reverses the conclusion built upon them. The wall will never lie, never change its position and never forget to serve its purpose and can never prevaricate or be ambiguous. Comparative Philology corresponds to the oral statements made by witnesses before a judicial court which is as if empowered by the tribunal of scientific men to take evidence on oath. Comparative Mythology corresponds to documentary evidence which involves the application of the correct principles of interpretation. Comparative Sphagiology gives the evidence of the same kind as that of the wall. Hence we attach special importance to the sacrificial system of the ancient Âryas. But it is to be specially observed that the three systems of evidence point to the same conclusion that the different Indo-Germanic nationalities belonged to the same Âryan race. The exact place of the myths in the religious economy of the Âryas is to be pointed out here. In every household certain rites are performed when a rainy season sets in, when first fruits are gathered and brought home, when a marriage is celebrated, or when an heir to ancestral property is recognised by the whole community. The rite is performed in conformity with formulæ, the origin of which is shrouded in obscurity: a myth—a story which explains the connection and bearing of the rite and which illustrates its different parts, is told by some old lady or a respectable old man. The analysis of words, the philosophy of their formation, the explanation of

their particular sense are the proper functions of philology. The analysis of the explanatory stories or myths and the philosophy of their origin constitute mythology. If the original names of the plants and animals had been preserved, their analysis and explanation would have developed a science corresponding to philology. If some explanation or a history of the animals and plants had been preserved from time immemorial, it would have constituted the basis of a science corresponding to mythology. But neither the names nor the stories can be called fossils, the investigation of which is the proper function of Paleontology. In like manner, the social fossils are not the words or the myths: they are the religious or social rites performed by a nation: they are the sacrifices or yajnas, a perfect record of which has been preserved only by the Indian Áryas. The investigation of these is to be made: the science is yet to be named: the rites are yet to be accurately described. Maps or plans representing the construction of the altars are yet to be drawn: the instruments or tools used by different nations in performing their sacrifices are yet to be collected and analysed; in one word, the subject of Comparative Sphagiology is yet to constitute an important department of human knowledge, a department which cannot but materially help the science of Sociology of which history, as it is written and studied at present, is only the means of a kind. We have stated rather carefully our views in this manner for we find the terms philology and mythology are indefinitely used, and that the subject of the religious rites, ceremonies, and the formulæ, which direct them is neglected, for the formulæ are not

yet separated from the hymns which praise the gods. It is said confidently that the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ is the only Veda, and that the Âryans were simply mad, when they developed the Brâhma*ṇa*-literature; yet the sacrificial formulæ are as important from a scientific point of view as the hymns : of course, the study of the rites themselves is more important.

We will now enter on the subject of Comparative Sphagiology, to which we have attached great importance as the test of the identity of the Greeks, Romans, Sclaavs and the Indian Âryas. In the Iliad we find that the description of the sacrificial rites is often given. We will quote Pope's translation of Homer which serves our purpose :—

"The chiefs surround the destined beast, and take
The sacred offering of the salted cake :
When thus the king prefers his solemn prayer."

The beast and the cake are prepared, and then the solemn prayer is offered. The prayer corresponds to what the Shrotriyas style invocation (Avâhana). The manner and the matter of the invocation exactly correspond to those of any hymn addressed to Indra. Only in the place of the Dasyus of India, the warriors of Troy such as Priam are mentioned.

"Oh thou ! whose thunder rends the clouded air,
Who in the heaven of heavens has fix'd thy throne,
Supreme of gods ! unbounded and alone !
Hear ! and before the burning sun descends,
Before the night her gloomy veil extends,
Low in the dust be laid yon hostile spires,
Be Priam's palace sunk in Grecian fires,
In Hector's breast be plunged this shining sword,
And slaughter'd heroes groan around their lord !"

Though concealed under the garb of forcible modern English idiom and sentiment, the style of an old Âryan song is plainly discernible. The order of the different parts of a sacrifice deserves attention.

"Their prayers perform'd, the chiefs the rite pursue,
The barley sprinkled, and the victims slew."

The sprinkling of the barley exactly corresponds to the Prokhana of the Saktus which are to be made into a cake called Purodâsha.

"The limbs they sever from the enclosing hide,
The thighs, selected to the gods, divide."

The different parts allotted to different gods are carefully prepared. The division of the animal for this purpose is known in the Shrouta-system as Pashu-vibhakti, *Vide* Aitareya-Brâhmana (VII. 1.).

"On these, in double cauls involved with art,
The choicest morsels lie from every part."

This is exactly the preparation of the Vapâ as known in the Shrouta-system, and the last line exactly describes what were known to the ancient Âryas as Avadânâni, which are bits of flesh to be offered into fire.

"From the cleft wood, the crackling flames aspire,
While the fat victim feeds the sacred fire."

The way of offering the parts and the condition of the fire are remarkably similar.

"The thighs thus sacrificed, and entrails dress'd,
The assistants part, transfix, and roast the rest ;
Then spread the tables, the repast prepare,
Each takes his seat, and each receives his share."

This is the description of the sacrificers enjoying themselves at the sacrificial meal, where different parts of the animal are carefully allotted to them, *Vide* Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a (VII. 1.). Now, we believe that the sacrificial system of the Greeks, so far as the materials for a comparison are available, is exactly like that of the Indian Âryas. We have brought together the points of resemblance of what is called an animal-sacrifice (Pashu-*i*sti). But Nestor appears to us to be the Âryan sacrificer known in the Vedas as Nes*t*ri. As the origin of the Great Epic of the Râmâya*n*a is agricultural—Sîta born from the earth—a furrow—is the heroine, so Briseis appears to us to be Vrîhi or rice, and Brysis the poet or bard who sang at the thrashing floor, this increase of the harvest being analogous to Brahman. If the termination mana is dropped, Brah is identical with Brysis, the father of Briseis. Again Cryseis is K*r*isi, agriculture : the tiller of the soil, a husbandman, is her father. Cryses is Krisa, a word remaining in Sanskrit in the form of K*r*isan (X. 117, 7.) R. S. Again :—

> " O first and greatest power ! whom all obey,
> Who high on Ida's holy mountain sway,
> Eternal Jove ! and you bright orb that roll
> From east to west, and view from pole to pole !
> Thou mother Earth ! and all ye living floods ! "

This is a hymn to the Vishve-Devas where Jove or Jupiter is the Dyous-pitar,—the father Dyous—the expanse of the heavens is placed first. There is a god of the name Venas described in the *R*ik-Sanhitâ (X. 123.) who seems to correspond to Venus. Nestor is a warrior, but from the gifts of horses and

plough-shares made to sacrificing priests,[1] the conclusion can be safely drawn that originally a priest could be a warrior or a husbandman. Homer refers to this (V. Book).

"The sons of Dares first the combat sought,
A wealthy priest, but rich without a fault;
In Vulcan's fane the father's days were led,
The sons to toils of glorious battle bred:"

Jove is sometimes described as a destructive deity of storms and rain.

"While Jove descends in sluicy sheets of rain,
And all the labours of mankind are vain."

The Greeks resemble the Indian Âryas more than the Etruscans, Goths, Sclaavs or the Teutons; the reason is simple enough: those who left Ârianâ last retained more of the Vedic institutions.

We will quote[2] the following passages about the sacrificial system of the Romans.

"In sacrifices it was requisite that those who offered them should come chaste[3] and pure; that they should bathe themselves; be dressed in white robes, and crowned with the leaves of that tree, which was thought most acceptable to the god whom they worshipped. Sometimes also in the garb of suppliants, with dishevelled hair, loose

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1 *Vide* the sacrificial treatise called Agnyâdhâna. We possess a copy of it. We have performed the Agnyâdhâna-rite.

2 The long passage quoted is from an English work on Roman Antiquities by Alexander Adam, LL.D., Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, published in MDCCXCVII., see pages 323, 324, 325, 326 and 327.

3 Read the Gaṇa-homa as described in the Taittirîya Araṇyaka.

robes, and barefooted. Vows and prayers were always made before the sacrifice."[1]

"It was necessary that the animals to be sacrificed (*hostiæ* vel *victimæ*, Ovid. Fast. I. 335.) should be without spot and blemish, (*decoræ* et *integræ* vel *intactæ*, never yoked in the plough), *ibid.* i. 83. and therefore they were chosen from a flock or herd, approved by the priests, and marked with chalk, *Juvenal.* x. 66. whence they were called *egregiæ*, *eximiæ*, *lectæ*. They were adorned with fillets and ribbons, (*infulis* et *vittis*,) *Liv.* ii. 54. and crowns; and their horns were gilt."[2]

"The victim was led to the altar by the *Popæ*,[3] with their clothes tucked up and naked to the waist, (*qui succincti erant et ad ilia nudi*, Suet. Calig. 32.) with a slack rope, that it might not seem to be brought by force, which was reckoned a bad omen. For the same reason it was allowed to stand loose before the altar; and it was a very bad omen if it fled away."[4]

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1 Hastia in Latin may be compared with Svasti in Sanskrit. The idea of Svasti is peace—well-being. The Latin Hastia can be explained in this way. It shows what the conception of a sacrifice originally was. "Always protect us with well-beings" (in Sanskrit Yûyam Pâtu Svastibhis sadâ nah) is the burden of many hymns of the *Ṛik*-Sanhitâ.

2 *Vide* the sacrificial system (Soma-prayoga) where *Agneyam Krisna-grivam* is mentioned. Particular kinds of animals were offered to certain gods. That for Vâyu was white. The animal was bathed and cleaned.

3 All priests touching one another take the animal. The sacrificer joins them.

4 It is a bad omen among us. *Vide* the same Prayoga.

"Then it was stabbed (*jugulabatur*) with knives; and the blood being caught (*excepta*) in goblets, was poured on the altar. It was then flayed[1] and dissected. Sometimes it was all burnt, and called HOLOCAUSTUM, (*ex* ὅλος *totus* et καίω, *uro*), Virg. vi. 25. but usually only a part; and what remained was divided between the priests[2] and the person who[3] offered the sacrifice, (*qui sacra* v. *sacrificium* FACIEBAT, v. *sacris* OPERABATUR, *Virg*, G. i. 393. *Tacit. Annal.* ii. 14.). The person who cut up the animal, and divided it into different parts, was said *prosecare exta*, Liv. v. 21. Plaut. Pœn. ii. 1, 8. and the entrails thus divided were called PROSICIÆ or PROSECTA, *Ovid. Fast.* vi. 163. These rites were common to the Romans with the Greeks; whence Dionysius concludes the Romans were of Greek extraction. vii. 72."

"After the *Haruspices* had inspected the entrails,[4] then the parts which fell to the gods were sprinkled with meal, wine,[5] and frankincense, and burnt (*adolebantur* vel *cremabantur*) on the altar. The entrails were said, *Diis dari, reddi* et *porrici*, (*quasi porrigi*, vel *porro jaci*), when they were placed on the altars, (*cum aris* vel *flammis imponerentur*), Virg. Æn. vi. 252. xii. 214. or when,

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[1] The operation of flaying the sacrificial animal is analogous. The skin ought to be drawn off at once. See the Soma-prayoga.

[2] *Vide* the section called Pasuvibhakti in Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

[3] This is the Yajamâna of the Indians.

[4] The entrails (guda-Kânḍa) are offered. The part of the sacrifice and oblations attending it are described in the Pashu-bandha-prayoga.

[5] These are the Abhighâras of the Indians.

in sacrificing to the *Dii Marini*,[1] they were thrown into the sea, *ibid.* v. 774. Hence, if any thing unlucky fell out to prevent a person from doing what he had resolved on, or the like, it was said to happen *inter cæsa* (sc. *exta*) *et porrecta*, between the time of killing the victim[2] and burning the entrails, *i.e.*, between the time of forming the resolution and executing it, *Cic. Att.* v. 18."

"When the sacrifice was finished, the priest having washed his hands and uttered certain prayers, again made a libation, and then the people were dismissed in a set form, ILICET *or ire licet.*"[3]

"After the sacrifice followed a feast (*Epulæ sacrificales*), which in public sacrifices was sumptuously prepared by the *Septemviri Epulones*. In private sacrifices, the persons who offered them feasted on the parts which fell to them, with their friends."[4]

"Sacrifices were of different kinds; some were stated (*stata* et *solemnia*), others occasional,[5] (*fortuita* et *ex accidenti nata*); as, those called *ex-*

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1 This exactly corresponds to a part of the Avabhritha as given in the Soma-prayoga.

2 The sacrifice is in like manner intermitted and renewed. *Vide* the Prâyaschitta-prayoga.

3 Compare this with the Avabhritha-ceremony of ancient India. Every sacrificial treatise describes it.

4 A big dinner follows every sacrifice. The words are Yâvad yajnam upayokse tâvan me yajnârtham, shesât Brâhmaṇâh bhunjiran, —this shows the spirit.

5 This is just the distinction between Nitya (stated) and Naimittika (occasional) sacrifices.

piatory[1], for averting bad omens, (*ad portenta* vel *prodigia procuranda, expianda et avertenda* vel *averruncanda*), making atonement for a crime, (SACRIFICIA PIACULARIA, *ad crimen expiandum*,) and the like."

"Altars used to be covered with leaves and grass called VERBENA, *i.e.*, herba[2] sacra, *Serv. Virg. Æn.* xii. 120. *Ecl.* viii. 65. *Donat. Ter.* iv. 4, 5. *Horat. Od.* iv. 11, 7. adorned with flowers, *Ovid. Trist.* iii. 13, 15. *Stat. Theb.* 8, 298. *Sil.* 16. 309. and bound with woollen fillets, *Prop.* iv. 6, 6. *Virg. Æn.* iv. 459. therefore called *nexæ torques*, *i.e.*, *coronæ*, Id. G. iv. 276."

"The Romans began their feasts by prayers and libations to the gods, (*deos invocabant*, Quinctilian. *V. pr. Libare diis dapes et bene precari*, Liv. xxxix. 43.) They never tasted any thing without consecrating it, *Tibull.* i. 1. 19. They usually threw a part into the fire as an offering to the *Lares*, therefore called DII PATELLARII, *Plaut. Cist.* ii. 1. 46. Hence DAPES LIBATÆ, *Horat. Sat.* ii. 6. 67. and when they drank, they poured out a part in honor of some god on the table, which was held sacred as an altar, *Macrob, Sat.* iii. 11, *Virg. Æn.* i. 736. *Sil.* vii. 185. 748. *Plaut. Cure.* i. 2. 31. *Ovid. Amor.* i. 4. 27. with this *formula*, LIBO TIBI, *Tacit. Annal.*" xv. 64."[3]

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[1] Prâyaschittya yajna. Compare this. The Kâmyestis are to be mentioned.

[2] Verbena or Herba may be compared with Barhis. The Barhis grass was abundantly used. On them sacrificial utensils were placed. This may be compared with *paristaranam*—placing the barhis or herba regularly about the altar. This is an essential part of every sacrifice.

[3] See page 444 on the Roman Antiquities already referred to. When the passages we have quoted are read, one feels that he is working at

The subject of the Sphagiology of the Greeks and the Romans is not as yet investigated. But in a few years more, materials for a comparison[1] of the sacrifical systems of the ancient Âryan nationalities in Europe and India will be collected, and Comparative Sphagiology will be ranked as a new branch of knowledge. Thus evidence as supported by three departments of research—Comparative Philology, Comparative Mythology and Comparative Sphagiology—establishes the conclusion that the Âryas many thousands of years ago formed a community in Airyana-Vaêja about the banks of Jaxartes (Yaksavarta in Sanskrit) and the Oxus (Ukṣa in Sanskrit) and that all the different branches of the Indo-Germanic race radiated from this centre. The fact of such an emigration discovers interesting traits in the character of the Âryas—courage, perseverence, the spirit of enterprise and adventure, devotion to the cause of geographical exploration, fortitude and self-confidence. Though the facts, connected with the ancient Âryan emigration or rather expansion, do not form an essential part of the subject we treat—Vicissitudes of the Âryan Civilization in India,—yet we have dwelt upon it that our

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a Vedi in an Agnihotri's Yajna-Shâlâ. The operations described in the passages quoted are identical in most respects with those dilated upon in the Boudhâyana Shrouta-Sûtras.

1 Our object is to present a comparative sketch of the sacrificial systems of the Romans and Indian Âryas. The quotation gives the Roman system. Our foot-notes supply information as to the sacrificial system of the Indian Âryas. We have thus supplied materials for a comparison which ought to elicit much interest. We have illustrated the main points of comparison. It would be easy to contrast the Zendic and Vedic sacrificial systems.

characterization of the ancient Âryas may be founded on historical facts. But there is a fact more important than the colonization of Europe, to which we have studiedly avoided to refer—the schism between two sections of the Âryas in Âriânâ itself—a schism originating in political, social and religious differences between the Daevas and Ahuras or between Brahmanical Âryas who had not submitted to the guidance of one ruler, and the Mazdayasnians who conformed to the established Âryan usages, under the guidance and leadership of Zarthustra. The causes of this Civil War will be enumerated, and its distinctive features pointed out after the Mazdayasnians are compared and contrasted with the Indian Âryas.

The study and examination of Mazdayasnian literature, we believe, warrants the statement of the propositions—that the Mazdayasnians and the Indian Âryans lived together in Âriânâ till the latter left their homes and migrated towards India, that the expansion of the Âryans into the different countries of Europe, a short sketch of which we have already attempted, preceded the advance of the Âryans into India and that the Mazdayasnians were conservative, and the Indian Âryans were reformers. Those who have laboured in the intricate and obscure mine of the Mazdayasnian literature admit the first two propositions. The last proposition is based on such conclusions as we have arrived at from the evidence which, we find, cannot be set aside. We will summarize the facts on which the former propositions are based, for they will facilitate the statement of the facts which support our conclusions. It is

quite plain that Ârianâ, which was originally the home of the Âryas, included the fertile and romantic valleys of the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus in the north, and the valley of the Tigris in the west, and the seven rivers in the east. It bordered on the mountains of Caucasus and the lake of the same name, for geographical notices in the Zendâvestâ[1] distinctly refer to them. We will present the evidence collected by European scholars under the following heads.

1. Spiritual Theology which appears to embody distinctive Mazdayasnian doctrines; but which we find is the basis of the *Rik*-hymns, 2. Comparative Philology, 3. Comparative Sphagiology, and 4. Comparative Mythology.

The Spiritual Theology of the Mazdayasnians.

The Mazdayasnians believed in the personality and unity of the true God, in the duality of superhuman power, the universal good mind, *spenta*

[1] The first Fargard of the Vendidad is interesting from a geographical point of view. In Airyana-Vaêja or Eran Vigo, Lassen includes Jaxartes and Oxus. (Cf. Lassen Ind. Alterthk, 1. p. 527.) Tigris is an Âryan name perhaps given to the river on account of its old name by the Greeks from Shîghra (quick) and Euphrates is Subhrâtrî, the good supporter—Bhra being represented by Phra. The natives of Armenia are recognised to be Âryas. The mountains (Elboruj as named by the Arabs) known in Persian poetry is Caucasus. The first Fargard mentions Bagdhi or Balkh, and the Hapta Hindu. As yet the first Fargard is not properly interpreted, for the interpretations offered are not consistent throughout. Geography, history, and theology are mixed up. No writer will ever give such an account of jumbling inconsistencies. The names of places are interpreted into theological dogmas. The labours of Bunsen, Haug, Spiegel and Westergaard are yet valuable.

mainyus, (in Sanskrit shveta manyus and the universal evil mind—Satan—Angro-mainyus (in Sanskrit anho-manyus), the good as well as the evil power being supported by their followers, the good spirits and the evil spirits presided over by Vahu-mano (Vasu-Manas) and Ako-manas (Âku-manas). The Indian Âryas divide the superhuman powers into two classes, the true and the false (sat and asat) and state that in the mind of a man seeking good knowledge, there is a conflict between the good and evil powers, the former overcoming the latter.[1] They often speak of Sin—Pâpmâ, who is the embodiment of all evil, and pray that they may be delivered from his power.[2] This belief, though common in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, is not lost sight of in subsequent literature. It is the basis of the Shrouta-system of sacrifices as they are described in the extensive Brâhma*n*a-literature.[3] The processes, called Kûsmâ*n*da-homa and Ga*n*a-homa, particularly insist on a person, who intends to bring any of the regular sacrifices, being purified and delivered from the power of the evil spirit. In the Upanisads, the same vein of thought is apparent. The Bouddhas distinctly speak of the contest between Mâra (Satan) and Buddha Goutama; and the six schools of philosophy[4]

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1 *Vide* the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (VII. 104, 12.).

2 The sentiment "Duritâ Tarema" form a part of many verses throughout the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.

3 The ga*n*a-homa—a sacrifice—is based on this sentiment of overcoming the evil mind. So also the Kûsamânda-homa—these are explained in parts of the Upanisads of the Taittirîyas. Separate treatises exist.

4 The Pûrva Mîmânsâ insists on the purification of the body: शौचेण जैमिनिरुपन्यासादिभ्यः. When the human body is purified by

emphatically state their views on the subject though the means they propound for the deliverance of man are different. This history shows that the Âryas in India were conscious of the power of good and evil minds whether universal or individual. The doctrine or belief is not, therefore, peculiar to the Mazdayasnians, though it must be stated that owing to the circumstances in which they were placed, the doctrine of the conflict in the human mind as well as in nature was rather categorically stated by the Mazdayasnians. "I am God,"—this expression occurring in the Zendâvestâ, is made much of by writers like Dr. Martin Haug. But such expressions occur as well in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. "I have given this land[1] to the Âryas" says the God of the Indian Âryas. The conception[2] of heaven as formed by the Indian Âryas is vividly painted more than once. The comparison of the conceptions of the Mazdayasnians and the Indian Âryas on the subject does not discover the superiority of the former. The conception as formed by both is equally pure. We cannot say that the Zendâvestâ is explicit on the subject of "resurrection." The passages which are interpreted into the doctrine are vague and indistinct. Equally vague and indistinct passages are met with in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. This

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sacrifices, it becomes Brâhma and the man so purified is saved. 2. In the two systems of Sânkha, the pure soul or spirit is emancipated from the power of evil or the gross. 3. In the two systems of Nyâya and Vaishesika, the Upadhâ, the evil power and, the Anupadhâ, the good power are recognised. 4. The school of Bâdarâya*n*a calls the evil power ignorance or bondage.

1 *Vide* the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (IV. 26, 2.).

2 *Vide* the last but one hymn of the 9th Man*d*ala of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.

comparison seems to establish the proposition that the Mazdayasnians and the followers of the *Ri*sis had not separated when such spiritual doctrines were propounded and preached in Ârianâ, and that they do not constitute the basis of the reforms attributed to Zarathustra, who was not a reformer, but a priest who simply led the conservative Âryas in Ârianâ.

Evidence from Comparative Philology.

Comparative Philology distinctly shows that the language in which Zarathustra preached and the *Ri*sis sang on the banks of the Indus is the same. We will quote a Gâthâ from the Zendâvestâ and present the same in its Indian form. The comparison of the two cannot fail to elicit much interest.

The Zendic Idiom.	The Vedic Idiom.[1]
1. Tat thwâ perçâ ers môi vochâ Ahurâ.	1. Tat tvâ *p*richchhâ *r*iju ma vach (vakdhi) Asura.
2. Kaçnâ zâthâ ptâ asha-hyâ pouruyô	2. Kah nâ dhâta pitâ asah-yâ pûrvyah.
3. Kaçnâ qēñg çtâremchâ dât aduânem.	3. Kah nâ ke târâ châ dhât adhvânam.
4. Kē yâ mâo ukhshiyêitî nerfçaitî thwat.	4. Ke yat mâs udksîyate nis-ksîyate tvât.
5. Tâchît Mazdâ vaçmî anyâchâ vîdyê.	5. Tâ chit medhistha vashmi anyâ châ vide.

The Zendic idiom is more Vedic than the idiom of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ itself, for the rules of Pâ*ni*ni which bear on the Chhandas apply to it thoroughly.

[1] *Tvâ* is the accusative of *yusmat*. *Prichchhâ* is an irregular Vedic form of *Prachchha* to ask, *Ers* in Zend appears to us to be the form of *Riju, straight*. *J* passing into *z* has collapsed with *ri*, which has developed

Such Sûtras as (VII. 1, 39.) of Pânini explain the peculiarities of the grammar of the Gâthâ we have quoted. This comparison of the Vedic and Zendic idiom most plainly and certainly

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into *ar* (the guna form) and is changed into *erz* or *ers*. *Rîju* has passed in German into *recht*, and in Anglo-Saxon *erect*. *Mâ* is the regular accusative form of *asmat*, *Vach* ought to be Vakdhi; but the Vedic idiom drops the termination of the second person singular of the imperative mood, *Vide* Pânini as determined by a Paribhâsya.* Asurâ is the Vedic vocative of Asura, *Vide* Panini (VII. 1, 39.). *Kah* is changed into *Kaç* if a natural modification of the rules of the composition of letters be disregarded, as is often done in Sanskrit. The rule of Pânini (VI. 1, 72.) is declared by commentators from Patanjali up to those of the present time to be optional; *nâ* the nominative of nri—man. Dhâtâ and Pitâ are regular forms. *Asahya* though a Sanskrit word has assumed a meaning of its own in Zend; *Ashahyâ* is the genitive of *Asahya*, *Vide* Pânini (VII. 1, 39.). Pûrvyah is a regular Sanskrit word. *Kah nâ* in the third line are the same as *Kah nâ* in the second line. *Ke* is the Vedic genitive of *ka* which means in the Vedas Visnu, a name of Prajâpati or sun, *Vide* Pânini (VII. 1, 39.). *Ka* is a Vedic name of Prajâpati as is now shown by Zend lexicography. But the assumption that the Âryas had early forgotton Vedic idiom and vocabulary, as emphatically stated by German scholars, deserves re-examination, aided by Comparative Philology. Târâ is the Vedic genitive of *Târâ*, a star. In the Vedas the form stâra is met with, *châ* is *cha* lengthened, *Vide* Pânini (VI. 3-133.). *Dhât* is *adhât*. But in the Veda the augment is dropped, *Vide* Pânini (VI. 4, 75.). Dhât is the regular Vedic form of *dhâ*—to place, Aṁhvânam is easily explained. *Ke* is the Vedic instrumental singular of *ka*, *Vide* Pânini (VII. 1, 39.) Utkhsî-yate offers no difficulty. The *ç* in nerçaitî corresponding to nishkshîyate appears to be the remnant of another verbal prefix *fa* which is *upa* often contracted into *pa* in Sanskrit. Tâ in the Veda is tâni in Sanskrit, *Vide* Pânini (VII. 1, 39.). Mazda is Vedic Medhistha—most pure, most intelligent, and most worthy of worship. Analogy proves this. Medhistha is changed into Mazda in Zend, as Sanskrit Nedistha into Nazd. Vashmi is a regular form of *vash* to wish. Anyâ is the Vedic form of Anyâm, *Vide* Pânini (VII. 1, 39.). Châ is explained by Pânini (VI. 3, 136.). Vide is Vedic infinitive, *Vide* Pânini (III. 4, 9). The Vedic subjunctive (*let*), Vedic infinitive ending in ê as in Vide, and the separation of verbal affixes from the verbs themselves, characterize the Vedic and the Zendic Gâthâs.

* सर्वे विधयश्छंदसि विकल्पंते which occurs in the Mahabhâsya of Patanjali.

establishes a common lingual origin of the dialects of the Mazdayasnians and the Indian Âryas, and demonstrates that the Vedic forms as given by Pâṇini were once in common use. The idiom of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ appears modern when compared with the idiom of the Zend Gâthâs—the most ancient Âryan songs. The difference between two idioms can be accounted for only on the hypothesis that the Âryans adapted their ancient songs to the idiom or grammar as it was modified after their separation—an hypothesis supported by one important fact—that when the *Ri*sis boasted of their new songs, they naturally pronounced their old songs in the new way, which could be easily done, when every word was remembered and recited, no system of writing being known. The comparison of Zendic and Vedic prosody strengthens the hypothesis. The Vedic metres Gâyatrî Asurî, Usnih Asurî, and Pancti Asurî appear to be Zendic metres as the examination of Gâthâ called Ahunavaiti discovers.[1] From a philological and historical point of view, a table of Mazdayasnian gods with their Sanskrit names is important. We have attempted the following list.

Devils.

	ZENDIC.	VEDIC.
1.	Indra—relegated to the council of Angro-Mainyus and is considered a devil.	Indra—a deity who leads the Âryas and helps them in war. Some hymns in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ exalt him into the supreme God-head.

1 See Dr. Haug's Essay on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsees.

Devils.—*(Continued.)*

	ZENDIC.	VEDIC.
2.	Shourva Daeva—a devil.	Sharva—a name of Shiva not mentioned in the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ, but it occurs in the White-Yajur-Veda (16,28).
3.	Nâonhaithya daêva—a devil.	Nâsatya—often praised and invoked in the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ.

Gods.

1.	Mithra.	Mitra—represents the sun in both Zend and Sanskrit.
2.	Airyaman.	Aryaman—a name of the sun.
3.	Baga or Bagho.	Bhagas—a deity mentioned often independently in the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ.
4.	Armaitii.	Aramati.
5.	Nairyoçanha.	Nârâshansa—a name of the God Pûsan according to Sâya*ṇ*a (X. 64.).
6.	Verethraghna.	V*ṛ*itraghna—an epithet of Indra—Indra is a devil with the Mazdayasnians, while V*ṛ*itraghna is a god. This is not strange. The Vedic Âryas also entertained a double conception of their gods. Agni is said to have a terrible (Ghorâ) body as well as beneficent (Shivâ).
7.	Vâyu.	Vâyu—wind.

The Mazdayasnians fixed the number of their gods at thirty-three[1] just as the ancient Vedic

[1] *Vide* Yâsna. (II. 43.).

Âryas did—a coincidence at once suggestive and fraught with historical interest. This comparative table shows that only three Vedic gods had been degraded by the Mazdayasnians into devils. Of these three, Indra was abhorred as a bad power, who exulted in intoxicating Soma and helped the wild warriors who delighted in a sort of knight-errantry and chivalrous gallantry. But he was worshipped as the enemy and killer of *Vrittra*. Shourva or Sharva and Nâ-satya alone remain in the list of devils. But Sharva is not known to the *Rishis*. Sharva represented the idea of a wild hunter, opposed to settled life and delighting in the use of arrows called in the *Rik*-Sanhitâ *sharu*. *Shârava* would be one who uses *sharu*, the word Shârava being formed by the termination *ana*[1] which necessitates the Vriddhi of the first syllable. Nâsatya offers a difficulty. Perhaps Nâon-haithya represents Nâsatya. The *Vrittras* caused a drought which the Mazdayasnians called Avarsa or no rain, a correct Sanskrit word. Ameretat and Hourvatat would be Amaratva and Svargatva. Of the Ahura-Mazda and Daevas, we shall have to speak particularly in the sequel.

The comparison of the sacrificial systems of the Mazdayasnians and of the Vedic Áryas brings into relief the points elicited by the statements we have made at the outset—statements as to the development of the sacrificial system during the four stages of progress which we have specially characterized. During the agricultural period, only the six Smârta

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[1] *Vide* Pânini (IV. 3, 120.) तस्येदं.

sacrifices were known. The Soma-sacrifice did not exist. But the wild warriors delighted in killing hundreds of rams and oxen and intoxicating themselves by drinking Soma freely: they were inordinately addicted to the use of dice—practices which the Mazdayasnians who preferred settled life and peaceful pursuits persistently condemned. Yet a simple rite in which the Soma was used was performed. It is analogous to an Isti—the basis of the rite called Pasu,—the model of all the Istis or sacrifices. We will describe it; Zend Zaotá is Vedic Hotâ; Adhvaryu is Rathvi, the general name of a priest or Vedic Ritvij. Isti itself and Âhuti are known in the Zendâvestâ as Isti and Azûiti which had the original meaning of praise and gift which the Vedic Âryas developed into a sacrifice and an oblation. Çraoshôvâreza is identified with Pratiprasthâtâ. But beyond some analogy in their functions, we do not find any ground for the statement. Atarevakso is Agnîdhra, because Atas is a name of Agni, though it is not known to the Vedic idiom in this form.[1] The Izeshne ceremony is fully described by Dr. Haug. We will reproduce the points of analogy as developed by him. Purodâsha corresponds to Darun and is a sacrificial cake. The fresh milk, and clarified butter are represented by Gâus Jîvya and Gaus-hudhâo, the latter corresponding to Go-dugdha. Zaothrâ corresponds

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1 We believe that the Zendic word Atas—fire—is to be identified with Vedic Hutâsha—fire, which literally means one who eats what is offered to him in a sacrifice. Hutâsha properly speaking is the name of a sacrificial fire.

to the Pranitâ âpas, the sacred water to be used for all little purposes of a sacrifice. Bareshma is barhis, when the termination *ma* is dropped, Bâresh, which is left behind, being barhis. Dr. Martin Haug attempts to prove that it is analogous to the Veda,—a bundle of Darbha-grass made into the shape of a leg of a calf asleep. The juice of a plant called Haoma was extracted. It was called Parahaoma. Instead of the stones called Grâvas, an iron mortar and a beater were used, and it was not mixed with milk, but with a pomegranate—a fact which shows the progress the Mazdayasnians had made in agricultural pursuits. The agricultural community of the Mazdayasnians shrank as is natural from wantonly killing useful animals—a practice which had grown common during the nomadic stage. The *Ri*k-Sanhitâ distinctly describes the pleasure with which animals were killed by warriors (Vîras). But the Mazdayasnians showed to the fire a small vessel containing the hair of an ox. The priests chaunted Gâthâs and the feast was solemnized with feelings of joy. Dr. Haug compares the Brahmanical châturmasya-isti with Gahanbârs which we believe correspond with the primeval domestic sacrifices known as Smârta-sacrifices. They were both six in number and performed at the interval of two months during different seasons. The name Gahanbâr, we believe, is derived from gaha—a house, and bâr one who occupies, the root being analogous to Sanskrit *Bhri*. Gahanbâr originally meant an house-holder. The name was given to the six ceremonies of a house-holder. On these occasions, the Âprî-hymns or Afrigâns were originally recited.

The six sacrifices were respectively performed in mid-summer, mid-winter, the rainy season, the middle of the year, and the harvest-time. The names of the six seasons deserve attention. The names are 1. Maidhyo-Zaremya, 2. Maidhyo-shema, 3. Paitis-hahya, 4. Ayâthrema, 5. Maidhyâ-irya, 6. Homaspath-maêdaya.

Aranis, known by the very name, were used for producing fire by friction. The fire was praised, and its appearance from the Aranis was awaited with increasing expectation and serious anxiety. To quote the words of Dr. Haug, Yasna or Yajna that is, a sacrifice consisted of "simple prayers in prose, to be offered to Ahura-Mazda, the Amesha-shpentas (good spirits) the Fravashis (or rather Pravashis, the spirits of the dead) to fire, to the earth and other female genii, to Izha (Vedic Ilâ) a name of the Earth, devotion (Shraddhâ in the Veda) to speech (Vedic Vâk) to the waters, to the animating spirit of creation, and to all beings of the good creation." Thus it will be seen that the sacrificial system of the Mazdayasnians is analogous to that of the Smârta-sacrifices as known to the Indian Âryas. The point of contrast is that while the Indian Âryas exulted in the enjoyment of animal-food and in the drafts of the Soma-juice, the Mazdayasnians carefully abstained from them—a fact which constitutes an important element in the explanation of the causes of the Civil War to be explained in the sequel. The style, the power, the contents of the Manthras (Mantras), the implements, the order, and the materials of a sacrifice and the functions of the officiating priests, the choice of

priests "the scale of recompenses to the priests who (have) officiated at the ceremony of Baroshnom"—the Hinkara[1]—a particular way of pronouncing a Manthra—all these are significant sacrificial facts. In view of these analogies, the points of difference almost dwindle into nothing. It was not, therefore, for sacrificial matters that the Mazdayasnians waged a long and incessant war with their countrymen,—the followers of Devas. The causes of the war are to be elsewhere sought.

We will examine the mythology of the Mazdayasnians and see if it can throw any light on the causes of the Civil War. Yima Khshaçta (Jamshid[2]) corresponds to Yama. Khshaçta is properly Khshaeta or Kseta which can be resolved into Ksatra which appears in its original form (Ksayatra) or Ksayatha in Zend, signifying a protector of a house. Ksatra as distinguished from Brâhma is referred to in the Zendâvestâ and in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ.[3] The warrior and the priest, the one representing valour and enterprise, and the other, literary activity, led society in the early Âryan history. The description of Yama in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ originates in the

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1 Hinkara—pronouncing Hiṁ can be rationally explained. Hinkoroti occurs in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ. It forms an essential part of every sacrifice. It is historically very important, as to it all the mystic syllables of the Tantra-a literature, can be referred. What is it? It was originally the way in which the cow-herds who tended cattle during the pastoral period, hallooed and called their cattle. Even now, among the pastoral people, such syllables are common. They are apparently meaningless, but they are used for directing cattle and are important historical remains of early ages.

2 As mentioned in the Shahanámah among the Peshdadi kings.

3 *Vide* Yâsna (XLVIII. 11.).

chivalrous period, when Âryan growth on the fertile soil of India in different departments of human activities could be marked; but its elements are to be traced to the agricultural period. Yama which comes from Yam—sometimes denoting to give, originally meant a liberal donor. In the words of Haug, "he gathers round him men and animals in flocks, and fills the Earth with them; and after the evils of winter (see the 2nd Fargard, Vendidad) have come over his territories, he leads a select number of the beings of the good creation to a secluded spot where they enjoy uninterrupted happiness." This is decidedly an agricultural conception. The hymn (I. 125, 5.) of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ states:—"The liberal man abides placed on the summit of the sky: he goes to the gods. These brilliant things are the portion of those who bestow largesses; there are suns for them in heaven; they attain immortality; they prolong their lives." (V. Vol. Muir's Texts). This conception of the summit of the sky where there are suns is essentially based on, or is most likely to originate in, the Zend conception of a secluded spot of uninterrupted happiness. In (X. 14.) of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ, it is distinctly stated:—Worship with an oblation king Yama, son of Vivasvat (Vivanhao in Zend), the assembler of men, who departed to the mighty streams and spied out the road to many." "Yama was the first who found for us the way." The happy home was gradually developed into the conception of heaven, and Yama, its lord. So far at least, the Mazdayasnian conception and the Vedic conception of Yamâ and his functions are identical. Trita in the

Zendâvestâ as well in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ is a physician. Traêtana Othwys corresponds to Trita Aptya. Kava-Us (Kaikavus in Shâhnâmah) is Vedic Kâvya Usana who leads the heavenly cows to pasturage. See (I. 85, 5.) of the Rik-Sanhitâ. Keresaspa is identified with Krishâsva. The story of Gayomarathan is represented in the Vedas which characterize[1] Gaya as an evil spirit. The mythology of the Zendâvestâ is rather limited when compared with that of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, which is extremely malleable. The same functions are attributed to different gods, each of whom in his turn is praised as the supreme. Yet the contest between Indra and Tavstri, or the degradation of Yama in the Zendâvestâ throws light on the bearings of the Civil War. Originally during the nomadic stage of civilization, the dead bodies were simply thrown away to be eaten by wild animals and birds, and marriages were contracted between relatives, aye, between brothers and sisters and cousins of the first degree. The Âryas, when they settled in the Punjab, had out-grown these customs. The corpse was burnt and the cremation constituted the final sacrifice to the gods (Antyesti). The dialogues between Yama and his sister Yamî is a satire on the ancient practice of marriages between brothers and sisters. It is a mere story. The names are not significant, and we do not believe

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1 The Nirukta mentions Gaya-shirasi. See (12-19) of the Nirukta on (I. 22, 17.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. Compare (Yâsna 14-18.) where the following occurs :—"We created the Fravashi of the well-created cow, and Gayo-Marathan—the pure." Gaya is an evil spirit in both the Zendâvestâ and the Nirukta. Marathan is Maradana—the subduer.

that they conceal an elaborate myth. Yama distinctly remarks as in (X. 10, 10.) of the *Rik*-Sanhitâ:— "There were ages when kinsmen did what is unbecoming their relation." The words—Tâ uttarâ yugâni—in the verse do not point to future ages but to the past ages[1]—the times when the Âryas dwelt in Ârianâ and had not separated from the Mazdayasnians. Our interpretation differs from that of Sâya*n*a which is adopted by European scholars.

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[1] The verse (X. 10, 10.) of the *Rik*-Sanhitâ is this:—

आ घा ता गच्छानुत्तरा युगानि यत्र जामयः कृणवन्नजामि
उप बर्बृहि वृषभाय बाहुमन्यमिच्छस्व सुभगे पतिं मत्

The important words in this verse are—Uttarâ Yugâni, and Âgachchhân. The last is known in the Vedic idiom as *let*, and makes according to Pâ*n*ini (III. 4, 8.) a conditional statement. Hence it signifies conditional future time. But if Uttarâ means also future, why is this tautology in expressing a simple thought? The truth is—the term uttarâ is used in the sense of past, a sense which is supported by the collation of those passage of the *Rik*-Sanhitâ itself, in which the term is used in different senses. The term Uttama is still used in the sense of *last*. But the most important word in the verse for determining its interpretation is Kri*n*avan which is Akri*n*avan according to (VI. 4, 75.) of Pâ*n*ini. It is formed from कृवि which means to do and which takes *num* and regularly forms its past tense which is Akri*n*van, which in the Vedic idiom has become Kri*n*avan. The general sense of the verse in question is.—"Those past times when the sisters did what is unbecoming to them (ajâmi) may certainly come (if I should consent). (Therefore) embrace (support) another as thy husband, and good lady! for some other lord than myself." Sâya*n*a's interpretation suggests that up to the time of Yama and Yami, brothers and sisters married each other. Even his interpretation supports our statement. Looked at from any point of view, and no matter what interpretation is adopted, the hymn is interesting as it indicates a change of custom.

We have gone into the history of the Mazdayasnians and have pointed out that the two sections of society, so far as the evidence furnished by Comparative Theology, Comparative Philology, Mythology or Sphagiology goes, did not essentially differ from each other. It is not, therefore, to religious or social differences that the causes of the long Civil War are to be traced. The power of pater-familias was recognised during the pastoral period. Clans were thus formed and sustained; but during the agricultural period, which could afford sufficient leisure to the bards to cultivate their special pursuits of original poetical compositions, they began to exercise much influence on society which could also afford sufficient leisure to listen to their bards and poets. The power of the poets who were also priests was increased. A confederacy, hierarchical in its origin and nature, gradually grew up. The cultivators, unconscious of consequences and slow to exert themselves, submitted to its pretensions. A priest usurped power, and began to lord it over other priests, who found it to be their interest to follow him and magnify his power. The origin of the power of the Popes is analogous. Those chiefs who supported the sacerdotal order in its pretensions and submitted to their commands ostensibly and apparently religious, but really political, were flattered and honoured. Those tribes of the ancient Âryans which had advanced in the development of agriculture followed their religious head and leader. Other tribes, which had been as yet partly pastoral and partly agricultural, retained their original vigour, love of independence, spirit of

adventures, and fondness for plunder. It was the interest of the hierarchy to magnify the power of their leader. One social leader necessitated the idea of one divine leader. Ahura-Mazda thus became the supreme leader of the Mazdayasnian Pantheon. The Asuras[1] opposed the tribes which were known as Devas or warlike, and condemned them. A war began—a war fraught with mighty consequences to India. Many a battle was fought: many a strategem was tried: many a leader distinguished himself: Success now favoured the one party, and now the other: Tvastri, because he was a favourite god of the peaceful Mazdayasnians, was now condemned by the Vedic Âryas, who magnified their Indra[2] and believed that he overcame Tvastri[3]. Yet when they wanted iron clubs, they could not do without Tvastri, and he was praised. The Vedic Âryas often speak of their new hymns. The Mazdayasnians never mention any thing new. The Vedic Âryas ask their Gods to lead them to new pastures. The Mazdayasnians adhere to their estates and cherish settled life. The Vedic Âryas, buoyed up with new hopes and aspirations, composed war-songs.

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1 Asuras literally signifies those who cling to life (asu). They were the tribes which had adopted agricultural life and preferred peace. The Devas were those who boasted of their nomadic adventures.

2 *Vide* (I. 29, 5.). The double character of Indra was not forgotten by the Âryas in India. See (VI. 24, 5):—"Indra does one thing today and another to-morrow, evil and good repeatedly." These words deserve attention.

3 Dr. Muir has brought together all the passages bearing on the subject of the hostility of Indra and Tvastri. (Vol. V. of his Sanskrit Texts, page 229.).

The Mazdayasnians speak of their abhorrence of war. The Vedic Âryas were led by their different leaders. The Mazdayasnians submitted to the power of an individual leader or king. The Vedic Âryas patronized a priest, if they were satisfied with him, or rewarded a bard, if he pleased them. The Mazdayasnians learnt to honour their high priest and to speak of his power and of his council. The Vedic Âryas despised devils and confidently asked their gods to break their spells. The Mazdayasnians learnt to believe that the devils had their leader who was assisted by his council and that his power was great. The Ṛik-Sanhitâ, the literary store-house of the Vedic Âryas, is instinct with originality, warm aspirations, and self-reliance. The Zendâvestâ is a code of fixed ethics and settled religious ceremonies. The Vedic Âryas were, therefore, reformers and the Mazdayasnians conservatives. The examination of the condition of the Âryas, during the pre-historic period, their expansion towards the West, their occupation of parts of Europe, and the Civil War among themselves, all these have prepared the ground for the characterization of those Âryas who crossed the Indus under their different leaders, and entered on a new career which necessitated new contests and developed social and political phenomena, which will be investigated in the sequel.

CHAPTER II.

THE INVASION OF INDIA AND THE PERIOD OF OCCUPATION.

The character of the invading ancient Âryas.—The invasion of India.—The method of warfare.—Courts and the life of the princes.—General remarks on the state of society.—Priests.—The populace.—Manners and customs.—Beliefs and superstitions.—Sphagiology.—Mythology.—Philosophy and Literature.

5. The neglecters of sacrifice, contending with the sacrificers, INDRA, fled, with averted faces. INDRA, fierce, unyielding, lord of steeds, (they disappeared), when thou didst blow the disregarders of religion from off the heaven, and earth, and sky.

6. (The adherents of VRITRA) encountered the army of the irreproachable (INDRA): men of holy lives encouraged him. Scattered before him, conscious (of their inferiority), like the emasculated contending with men, they fled by precipitous paths.

7. Thou hast destroyed them, INDRA, whether weeping, or laughing, on the furthest verge of the sky; thou hast consumed the robber, (having dragged him) from heaven, and hast received the praises of the worshipper, praising thee and offering libations.

8. Decorated with gold and jewels, they were spreading over the circuit of the earth; but, mighty as they were, they triumphed not over INDRA: he dispersed them with the (rising) sun.—*Wilson's Translation of the Rik-Sanhitâ*, (I. 33.).

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1. When a warrior in a coat of mail engages in battles, his form resembles a cloud: conquer without injury to thy body: let the power of (thy) mail save thee.

2. Come, we conquer countries by means of our bows, come, we triumph in war by means of our bows, we win in battles by means of our bows. Our bows disconcert our enemy: we conquer in all directions by means of our bows.—(IV. 75.) *of the Rik-Sanhitâ.*

2. I have given (this) country to the Ârya: (I have caused) rain-fall for the pious man (Ârya): I have brought water (for him): all the willing gods come (and do) as I bid.

3. Intoxicated with Soma, I destroyed ninety-nine towns of Shambara (a Dasyu): I prepared the hundredth town (for the residence of Divodasa): because in a sacrifice, I protected Divodasa to whom itinerant Âryas have recourse.—(IV. 26.) *of the same.*

CHAPTER II.

THE INVASION OF INDIA AND THE PERIOD OF OCCUPATION.

The character of the invading ancient Âryas.

THE Âryas who had resisted all temptations of emigrating from their homes[1] and who had made progress[2] in some arts of peaceful life were compelled to abandon their native country and all that they cherished most, their lands, and pastures, and depart, never to return, towards the East. That energy which led their countrymen at different periods into the West, that indomitable courage which enabled them to triumph over the aborigines of Greece or Italy, Germany and Luthvania, and to establish themselves permanently on the shore of

1 While many went away into the regions of the west, these Âryas remained at home. *Vide* (I. 159, 3.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. The words Sthatus and Jagatas deserve attention. H. H. Wilson translates it thus :—"These, your children, the performers of good works, and of goodly appearance, recognize you as their great parents, through experience of former (kindness) preserve uninterrupted stability in the functions of your progeny, whether *stationary* or *moving* (depending for existence) on none other than you. The 5th verse of the same hymn confirms this view.

2 This is explained in the sequel.

the Bay of Salamis or the banks of the Arno or of the Danube or Rhine, that fertility of mind which produced statues of Phidias of Athens, the phalanx of Epaminondas of Thebes, or the political organization of the ancient Romans, the will which never succumbs to any difficulty, but which strives the more to rise superior to what it has to encounter the more it is repressed, the aspirations after progress and expansion, the yearnings for military glory,—all these characterized the ancient Âryas who turned their faces towards the East, and advanced towards the valley of the Indus. They marched *en masse*[1] with their families, with their servants, with their military bands, with their hordes of husbandmen, with their shop-keepers, and their artizans, clinging to their social institutions, and their sacrificial customs, now guided by a powerful bard and now impelled by a valorous leader. The whole community in one sense emigrated. The Âryan community soon came in contact with the aborigines of the Punjab—the Dâsas and the Dasyus.

The contrast between the latter and the former is remarkable. The Âryas could organize an expedition and could adapt the means they possessed to the end they sought to accomplish: the Dasyus could not be moved to make any innovation nor

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1 The statement as to the Âryas entering India *en masse* is based on the Panchajanâs being mentioned throughout the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, on the Âryas settling and bringing land under cultivation as they advanced, on their carrying with them their cows and performing sacrifices as they organized settlements, and on the mention in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ of artizans and small crafts such as making a hook or repairing a boot.

could combine for a common object.[1] The Âryas could use weapons of warfare and could invent new machines:[2] the Dâsas seldom possessed weapons worthy of notice. The Dâsas congregated in villages without any social organization: the Âryas marched under their leaders. The Dâsas were always surprised to find a great activity in their invaders: the Âryas quickly laid plans and brought them to bear in process of time. The Dâsas felt the force of the operations for the time being, but did not understand the minor processes by which their plans were matured: the Âryas had a settled policy which they could patiently carry out: the Dâsas lived on, regardless of the influences which came to bear on them and ignorant of the slow but sure policy of their invaders. The Âryas always sought to justify their conduct on all occasions of political importance:[3] the Dâsas impulsively de-

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1 The *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ declares that different settlements of the Âryas were formed in different parts on the ruins of those of the Dasyus who appear never to have offered organized opposition to the invaders. One after another, their fortified towns were taken. The best evidence of the organizing power of the Âryas in India is their sacrificial system. A surgeon, before he begins to amputate a human limb, does not arrange his surgical instruments so systematically as the priest, who leads a sacrifice, arranges his instruments. When all the priests operate, they move as if they were one individual. Their involutions and evolutions, even when they are sixteen in number, discover their power of organization. If they were so systematic in their performance of religious and social rites, *a fortiori*, they paid particular attention to organizing expeditions.

2 The praises of Tvaṣtri, and the story of *Ṛ*ibhus sanctions this. See also (VI. 75.) of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ.

3 The hymns which the Âryas addressed to their gods discover the legitimate basis as it was understood by the Âryas when they fell

clared their intentions, made attacks, or surrendered at discretion. The Âryas attributed their success in war to their gods, and sang of their aid in every battle: the Dâsas openly boasted of their personal valour. The Âryas joined in public feasts when the brave and the intelligent, the warrior and the poet, were applauded : the Dâsas had no public feasts. The Âryas were well-built, strong, fair, and attractive in their features : the Dâsas were dark, ill-proportioned and repulsive.[1] The Âryas attacked openly, and boasted of their triumphs over irreligious and faithless barbarians who worshipped no gods and who knew no social *etiquette* :[2] the Dâsas often adopted the mean tricks of driving away the cows[3] of their enemies, stealing their property, of way-laying a weary traveller, or poisoning their supplies of water.

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on their enemies : the Âryas said :—" Ah ! these Dâsas do not worship any gods : they do not sacrifice : they live irregularly : they steal." It is the plea of civilized nations when they invade other countries. The conquest of India occupied centuries. In the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, the rivers of the Punjab at their sources are mentioned together with the Ganges and the Jamna. The desert of Rajputana and the lower valley of the Indus checked their advance for some time. At the time of Pâ*n*ini, the Panjab, Sindha, and the valleys of the upper Ganges, and the Jamna were occupied. The Âryan colony at the time of Patanjali was consolidated under the name of the Âryâvartta. See the sequel.

1 Hymns of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ can be quoted in support of these statements.

2 Such epithets as Avratâsas, Anindra are often applied to the aborigines.

3 All the descriptions of Vrittra in the hymns of Indra speak of this.

The invasion of India.

The Âryas entered India by the mountain-passes near Peshawar. Throughout the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ the placid, deep, and majestic Indus is seldom, if ever, referred to. The precipitous mountain-ranges and mountain-torrents are spoken of.[1] The Âryas forded them at conveniently shallow places,[2] and where a river opposed an insurmountable barrier, it was crossed in boats.[3] Sometimes, their energy was engrossed by the schemes of turning the channel of a river[4] or of travelling through a deep mountain-pass.[5] They forced their way through the mountainous country about the bottom of the Himâlaya ranges.[6] A few bold adventurers dashed through to the banks of the Jamna where at that early date they succeeded in establishing an Âryan colony.[7] The colonies in the regions in the heights

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1 *Vide* (IV. 46, 13 and 14.) and (IV. 47, 14.) and (VII. 50, 4.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.

2 *Vide* (VII. 18, 5.)—the deep waters becoming shallow, that is, a ford was discovered. (III. 33.)—the address of Vishvâmitra to the rivers of the Panjab throws special light on the difficulties of crossing the rivers.

3 The boats or nâvas are often mentioned.

4 *Vide* (III. 33, 11.). The whole hymn throws light on the difficulties of the invaders.

5 *Vide* (I. 90, 1.) where *Ri*junîtî means straight paths and 4th verse of the same. *Vide* also (II. 15, 6.)—the words—Sodancham Sindhum—deserve attention as they show that the river was turned to the north. *Vide* also (I. 62, 5.) where Indra is said to have made straight the elevations of the earth.

6 All the references to rivers are restricted to their upper mountainous courses. *Vide* (VI. 47, 14.) and (VI. 46, 14.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.

7 *Vide* (V. 52, 17.), and they aspired after the country of the Kikaṭas, *Vide* (III. 53, 14.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.

of the Himâlayas between the hills near Peshawar and the sources of the Jamna gradually developed into the homes of the North Kuras and the Upper-Madra.[1] The Âryas gradually occupied the fertile valleys of the Indus and its large tributaries which had already been known to them, for the Zendâvestâ mentions them by the name of the Hapta-Hendû.[2] The deserts of Rajaputana prevented the expansion of the invading Âryas towards the East. But they often penetrated into the desert,[3] discovered a romantic oasis,[4] planted a small colony, burnt down wildernesses, and reproduced those forms of their civilization, the memory of which they carefully cherished. They gradually overspread the valley of the Indus to its mouths.[5] Thus some Âryas boldly forced their way to the banks of the Jamna, and attracted by the fertility of the soil, and salubrity of climate, aspired after the occupation of the banks of the Ganges which served as a route: some entered into Rajaputana: others triumphantly occupied the alluvial banks of the mighty Indus.

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1 *Vide* (X. 32, 9.) where Kurushravaṇa occurs which should mean the hearer of the Kurus, (a tribe) for the tribes of Yadus and of Vṛiṣṇis are mentioned in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ. Uttara Madra is mentioned in the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

2 *Vide* Vendidad (Far. I. 73.) and Hapta-Hendû.

3 The word Dhanva is important as used in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ. It means water, then a desert, because it is like a sheet of water in its form, *Vide* (X. 89, 6.) for this. Again *Vide* (X. 187, 2.) where fire is said to burn the distant desert. Gradually a distinction of accents between two forms of *dhanva* appears to be established.

4 *Vide* (III. 33, 7.) Ṛik-Sanhitâ.

5 *Vide* the hymn about the Sarasvati (VII. 95, 2.) The words—from the mountains to the sea—are important.

Such geographical notices as occur in the *Rik*-Sanhitâ support these statements.[1] The Sindhi language, though imbedded in deep layers of Persian, and incrusted with terms which express Moslem feeling and faith, is still remarkably true to its genuine Âryan origin, for it retains the original deponent form of verbs, the passive voice, grammatical terminations almost Sanskrit, and words which can be traced to the Vedic lexicon.

An argument from mythological stories can also be brought to bear. The Hindus of Sindha worship the Indus, and narrate interesting stories about its power. The system of religion and theology which has survived the fanaticism of the Moslems, throws considerable light. The Hindu abhors a pigeon as unclean.[2] There is no remnant whatever of sphagiological speculations, a circumstance which shows how far and in what direction time has wrought a change, a change doubtless due to Moslem fanaticism and modern Shika influences. In the Panjab, properly so called, Philology, Mythology and Sphagiology support our statements. The substratum of the Panjabi dialect is entirely

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1 The upper rivers of the country beyond the Panjab and the tributaries of the Indus are particularly mentioned. The rivers Ganges and Jamna are only referred to, the first once and the second twice. The rivers Rasâ, and Anitabhâ, and Kubhâ are mentioned (V. 53, 9.) along with Suryu and Parus*ni*. The Âryas pushed forward for they particularly prayed for straight paths, comfortable paths, and safe paths.

2 Compare this superstition with that of the Âryas as mentioned in (X. 165.). The Kapota was particularly detested by the Vedic Âryas. The Hindu Sindhi does the same still.

Sanskrit. The stories narrated in their temples are all Âryan.[1] The Zatka method[2] of killing an animal even for daily food is the remnant of the old mode of killing a sacrificial animal.

The method of Warfare.

The aborigines whether in the Northern mountain-ranges or in the Panjab and Sindha or in Rajputana did not give way easily. They offered strenuous resistance and contended as bravely as they could, with their invaders.[3] Different bands of the Âryas marched under their leaders ;[4] each having a banner of his own,[5] singing of the prowess of their ancestors[6] and of the aid which Indra or Brihaspati granted them, and blow-

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1 Of course, as modified during the periods of the Râmâyaṇa and Mahâbhârata or of the Purâṇas. They narrate the stories and legends of modern Indian Mythology, but the modern Mythology is entirely the continuation of the Vedic Mythology: the one is developed out of the other. See the sequel.

2 The sheep is brought up. It is sprinkled over with water. Some flowers are thrown on its head. It is offered to a Devî or goddess by way of wishing so (Sankalpa) ; and then with one stroke its head is severed from its body. It is essential that one stroke should sever it or it would be polluted.

3 *Vide* (I. 54, 4.), H. H. Wilson speaks of Asuras assembled, though the word Asuras is not mentioned in the original. *Vide* also (I. 117, 3.).

4 *Vide* (I. 51, 6.) where Âryas as opposed to the leaders of the aborigines are mentioned.

5 *Vide* (I. 103, 1.) the banner is called Ketu.

6 *Vide* (I. 40.). The words Vartâ and Tarutâ are important as used in the 8th verse. *Vide* (I. 102, 3.) Jaitram yam te anumadâma Sangame. These words are important. *Vide* (VII. 33, 4).

ing conches.[1] The leader drove in a war-chariot covered with cow-hides: some[2] used the bow and arrows: others had darts. The army was divided into infantry and cavalry.[3] Often did the leader of bands attack a town, and putting every inhabitant to the sword, occupied it.[4] Sometimes they were content with large booty.[5] When a town was occupied, Âryan institutions were established, and Âryan gods were worshipped.[6] In fact, the legitimate basis of war against the aborigines was their irreligion.[7] Each leader thus carved out a kingdom for himself. Thus simultaneously, many Âryan leaders, independently of each other, waged war against the Dâsas and Dasyus who were often able to make an impression upon the invaders. Sometimes dejected by repeated failures of the Âryas, and conscious of the superior numbers of the natives who drove away their cattle, and gave them every annoyance, the invaders gave way but only for a short time. Their drooping courage was revived by the bards who in their *improvised* songs

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1 *Vide* (I. 112, 1.).

2 All the weapons are described in (VI. 75.). *Vide* (VI. 47, 26.) which mentions chariots covered with cow-hides.

3 *Vide* (I. 65, 3.) a horse charging an enemy is spoken of. Again, the verse (I. 73, 9.) is very important as it speaks of horses, opposed to horses, men to men, warriors to warriors, the word *vîra* being used. It is translated into sons,—a mistake. The phrases—nribhir *nrîn*, Vîrair vîrân—properly mean heavy armed and light armed infantry.

4 Some of the hymns of Indra speak of this sort of warfare.

5 The verse (VI. 75.) and others speak of booty.

6 The hymn about Kîkaṭas quoted already supports this.

7 The verses (I. 51, 8 and 9.) are important in this connection.

reminded them of the valour of their ancestors, who waged war in their own country against their oppressors—the Mazdayasnians. Shusna[1] is often mentioned as the enemy of the Âryas. His defeat is described in graphic language. But Shusna was not an aboriginal Dâsa or Dasyu. He is identical with Persian Hoshang mentioned by Furdusi in his Shâhanâmah. Hoshang is a Persian name still assumed even by Mobeds or the priests of the Parsis in Western India. When the aborigines submitted, they were compelled to abandon their fertile country to the Âryas, and to betake themselves to barren mountain-fastnesses: sometimes they were sent off in boats.[2] Some leaders fought in different

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1 Shusna we have identified with Hoshang, and Jâhusa we identify with Jahaka, for Shusna can easily become Husna or Husan and the Mazdayasnians often pronounced *n* as *ng*. See the Gâthâ already quoted where *queng* stands for *ke*, the accusative of *ka*—the sun. The *sa* is changed into kha. For instance the Taittirîyas pronounce *Purusa* as *Purukha*. See (I. 116, 20.) where Jâhusa is mentioned. Nâsatyas are said to have taken Jâhusa beset by enemies in their car bearing down (opposition) and to have gone away to mountains. Hoshang and Jahaka are mentioned as belonging to the Peshdâdi period of the Shâhanâmah. These princes are :—Kayamarsa (Gayo-marathan in the Zendâvestâ) Gaya-maradana in the Vedas. Hoshang is Shusna. Tâhamarsa is perhaps Ashusa-maradan. *Vide* the verse (II. 19, 6.) which bears out the statements of the paragraph. Jemshet is Yamak*h*satra. Jahaka is Jâhusa, Feridun is Traitana for which we are indebted to Burnouf. Maina-cher is Manu. Nouzar is Nahusa. Kereçâçpa is Krishâshva. The statement is based on (I. 116, 20.).

2 *Vide* (I. 97, 8.). The seventh and eighth verses of this hymn deserve attention, because in those days enemies were sent off in ships. But again the Âryas also pray :—" He conveys us as in a boat across the Indus for our welfare." H. H. Wilson translates it thus : " Do thou convey as in a ship across the sea ;" but the words in the original are :—Sa nah Sindhumiva nâvayâti parsâ svastaye.

centres in the Panjab: others carried everything before them till they reached the mouths of the Indus : some adventurous and bold warriors acted against mountain-tribes in the neighbourhood of the Himâlayas : while others dislodged the quiet natives of the valley of the Jamna. Sometimes an Âryan leader fought with an Âryan leader.[1] The cause of such a civil dissension might be jealousy or ambition. The Âryans had not developed a confederacy. But in different localities[2] in the Panjab or Sindha, accessible to the invaders, centres of Âryan supremacy were established. The war of invasion lasted for centuries, nor were the aborigines as a whole subjugated at any period of the history of the Âryas.

Courts and the life of the Princes.

When small Âryan kingdoms were formed, a new basis of operation against the aborigines was laid. Courts came into existence. The names of many eminent Âryas are mentioned by way of commendation in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. They can be divided into three classes :—eminent Âryan patriarchs,[3] generous

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1 Such stories as that of the *Ri*bhus warrant this statement. Again there are references to men being thrown into wells, and being extricated. The allusions do not appear to be explicit. They are vague. But "the son of Svitrâ fighting for his lands" and similar references seem to confirm the statement.

2 Different persons are mentioned as helped by Indra on different occasions. Any hymn of Indra will support this statement. Hence different leaders fixed upon different localities, as the bases of operations, and made demonstrations against those who opposed them.

3 The leaders of the Goutamas or of Ka*n*vas are, for instance, great patriarchs.

Âryan sacrificers,[1] and intrepid Âryan leaders.[2] The clans of the Goutamas, of the Kanvas, and of the Vasisthas were eminent. The reputation of Divodâsa, a generous prince, was established. The life of the princes had three sides :—they had harems[3] and lived luxuriously, they hunted in the vast primeval forests,[4] and listened to the bards who pampered to their vanity.[5] They performed sacrifices and bestowed largesses on priests.[6] They had feuds with one another.[7] Petty kings or rather chieftains had their retinues,[8] they exhibited their grandeur, one chieftain vying with another.[9]

General remarks on the state of Society.

Society was feudal so far as its political organization and social and religious institutions were concerned. The courts of the chieftains were the models which shaped and determined social ranks. It was the ambition of every patriarch to

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1 Such as are mentioned for instance in (1. 100, 17.)—Vârsâgirâh, Rijrâshvâh, Ambarîsah, and Sahadevâh.

2 Kutsa, Purukutsa and many others.

3 *Vide* (III. 62, 8.), (V. 60, 4.) (VII. 26, 3.) "An uxorious husband," "luxurious bridegrooms who have decorated their persons," "as one husband and many wives," these references warrant our statement.

4 *Vide* (I. 113, 6.) and similar references show that some went a-hunting.

5 (I. 85, 10.) "The munificent Maruts, blowing upon their pipe," and "exhilarated with Soma-juice."

6 *Vide* (I. 126.) The whole hymn mentions generous princes.

7 The fact of ambassadors sent is important. *Vide* (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. V.). *Vide* (I. III, 3.). Jâmi and Ajâmi in a battle are mentioned.

8 (IV. 4, 1.) A king with his followers and a elephant are mentioned.

9 (I. 74, 8.). *Vide* (VII. 33.) The Bharatas vied with the Vasisthas.

have a neat and handsome mansion,[1] a large number of cattle,[2] a small harem,[3] a number of followers,[4] and a train of menial servants, and to exhibit his influence and social status by giving a sumptuous sacrificial feast.[5] He was the chief of his family. Great respect was paid to him by his sons and grandsons[6] who could not take their dinner till he was invited respectfully to join it. He was prepared with his followers to assert his dignity and to maintain his social position, if need be, by fighting a battle. He always prayed for three blessings :— health, defensive armour, and a comfortable dwelling.[7] He was dressed like a warlike Ksatriya. He carried a dart or a sword. He was protected by his armour.[8] He wore neck-ornaments and ear-rings.[9] His mind was imbued with such aspirations as chivalry produces. He considered it his religious duty to be a warrior, for heaven awaited him after death.[10] His education was specially attended to,

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1 (I. 66, 2. and 4.) "A secure mansion" and "like a lady in a dwelling" are mentioned.

2 The hymn in which an Ârya asks blessings for all connected with him ; The Sûkta is known as Shanyu-Vâka.

3 See the last page.

4 *Ibid.*

5 (I. 17, 4.) "May we be included among givers of food.

6 *Vide* (I. 130, 1.).

7 *Vide* (I. 114, 5.) Sharma, Varma, Chhardis—are significant words.

8 *Vide* (V. 53, 4.) and (V. 57, 2.).

9 *Vide* (V. 54, 11.) Golden tiaras are mentioned. *Vide* (122, 14.).

10 *Vide* (I. 130, 8.) "Svarmîḷheṣvâjiṣu" "in battles that confer heaven."

for there were military classes,[1] and theological lectures.[2] At every sacrifice interesting philosophical and sphagiological discussions took place, and they enlarged his mind and communicated a new impulse to his ambition.[3] His children obeyed him, and rendered him material assistance in carrying out his plans of aggrandisement, in enlarging the stock of wordly comforts; and he always prayed to his gods for racy and healthy children.[4] He sometimes sat in a hall of his mansion and administered justice.[5] That romantic love of fair ladies which chivalry engenders and fosters, characterized his conduct towards his more than one wife on important occasions of life. They participated in a sacrificial feast.[6] Some maidens remained unmarried for life, while all married when they were old enough to make a choice for themselves.[7] A priest who depended on their charity was a constant inmate of the patriarchal mansion. He

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1 (IV. 42, 1.) The words are :—"Mama Dvitâ râstram ksatriyasya" "Twofold is my empire that of all the Ksatriyas" is the speech of a sage like Trasadasyu.

2 *Vide* (X. 71.) It is known as the Jnâna-Sûkta.

3 *Vide* (I. 164, 34. and the following) in which questions are asked and answered.

4 There are too many references to racy children to require a special question.

5 *Vide* (I. 124, 7.). H. H. Wilson translates a part of it thus :—"and like one ascending the hall (of justice) for the recovery of property."

6 *Vide* (I. 126, 3.) and (I. 28, 3.), in this, the burden of the song is—Ulûkhala Sutânâmavedvindra jalgulah. "The song is interesting and familiarly sung in a house."

7 These statements are based on (X. 85, 22.): the epithets like Prapharvyam deserve attention.

helped the patriarch in his daily and periodical sacrifices.[1] A musician chaunted hymns. He was not only a reciter of old songs; but he could at times compose a new one which he called a new Brahma.

The ladies lived luxuriously. Elephants were trained[2] and horses were gorgeously caparisoned.[3] Articles of luxury or comfort were made by artisans whose manufactures were liberally patronized.[4] A number of such patriarchal families, as owned independent estates and lands, were united in a clan bound to its chief or leader by feudal ties. But beyond this, the principles of sub-infeudation did not extend. The different chieftains conquered new lands for themselves and enlarged their possessions. But they did not explicitly form an Âryan confederacy. Yet the sense of an Âryan confederacy as opposed to the different aboriginal races was tacitly entertained, for the Âryas are spoken of as opposed to the Dâsas, and sometimes, the names of different Âryan leaders or chiefs are mentioned in the same hymn. Labour was valued.[5] The spirit of adventure and enterprise was appreciated.[6] Activities in all departments of life were instinctively shown. The

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1 (I. 94, 6.) an Adhvaryu, Hotâ, Prashâstâ, Potâ—these are regular sacrificial priests. But a Purohita is a regular family-priest.

2 *Vide* (I. 84, 17.).

3 *Vide* such references as (III. 41, 9. or III. 42, 1.).

4 See Muir's Sanskrit Texts, where these are all mentioned at once, Vol. V.

5 (I. 112, 24.), and (I. 79, 1.) H. H. Wilson translates it thus "like honest (people) who, provided with food, are intent upon their own labours."

6 (I. 17, 31.) "A wearied traveller" is mentioned.

Âryas, therefore, continued to grow in power, and to expand their possessions as the natives were weakened and subjugated. We will offer a few particular remarks on the different classes of society and proceed to the examination of the progress the Âryas made during this period in their Sphagiological, Mythological, Philosophical, and Religious conceptions.

Priests.

Theoretically, the priests commanded respect. The princes as well as influential patriarchs who possessed even small towns[1] listened to their requests, gratified their desires and adopted their advice in the celebration of periodical sacrifices or domestic rites. Necessarily there was much sacredness attached to their utterances and conduct which could not be dissociated from the invocation and worship of the Âryan gods. But the chaplain who resided in the mansion of a chief did not exercise any influence in political matters or in the administration of his territory. His power was restricted to religion. His position was, therefore, subordinate to that of officers who led an army or administered a province. Yet he had estates, lands and property of his own. He lived in splendour.[2] He had his retainers, and dependents. He was often enriched

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1 *Vide* (I. 139, 8.) "never may our towns decay."

2 Among the gifts bestowed upon priests, troops of slaves, horses, and chariots are mentioned. Hence the inference that priests lived in splendour. *Vide* (I. 126.) where the gifts of Bhâvya are mentioned. Kakshîvân is carried about in a gaudy procession.

by his royal patron : he received hundreds of cows,[1] even slaves as a gift. The power to keep so many cows or to maintain an establishment large enough to accommodate so many slaves indicates the extent of the resources of a priest. The chaplain often visited the court, had access to the royal harem, and was sometimes commended in the songs of the bards. Every influential patriarch could not do without the services of a priest; for at every morning and evening sacrifices, the gods had to be invoked, and according to the system established, offerings into the sacred fire had to be made.[2] He was specially educated to discharge the functions which were entrusted to him.[3] Besides, the family-priest had to administer some of the sacraments and to superintend the performance of rites. When a male child had grown up to be a boy, the rite of getting his hair shaved was performed.[4] At the time of marriage the Brahmâ-priest played an important part. He gave special instructions to the grown

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1 *Vide* (V. 33, 6, 8 and 10.). It shows the position of priests.

2 In the hymns of the morn, frequent references to the morning and evening sacrifices are made. The Purohita played a part. Hence Agni is called Purohita.

3 *Vide* (I. 112, 2 and 4.) "(Kaksivat) acquired the knowledge of threefold sacrifice." "As Pupils listen to the words for instruction"—these are important statements. *Vide* also (X. 71.) which distinctly explains a school-system, its examination and its rewards.

4 *Vide* (VI. 75, 17.) The words "Kumârâ Vishikhâ" mean boys who are not shaved or on whom Chudâkarma-ceremony is not performed. H. H. Wilson explains how these can be compared to arrows, but hints a difficulty. We know that Vishikhâh Kumârâh are privileged to be playful, and to go about romping and dancing.

up bride as she parted with her parents.[1] All the sixteen rites mentioned in the Gṛihya-Sûtras do not appear to have been known and performed. But when much importance was attached to the birth of racy children for which prayers were constantly offered to the gods, the rite consisting in making offerings to the gods at the time of the birth of a child could not be dispensed with. The periodical[2] sacrifices necessitated the presence of such priests as Hotṛi and Potṛi who are mentioned by name in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ. At these Soma was squeezed and offered to gods, and Indra and the Ashvins were specially invoked. The sacrifices were performed with great eclat. A large number of priests[3] were thus dependent on the "upper ten" in society. They travelled from district to district and from court to court. Sometimes they officiated at sacrifices but often recited the legends of their gods which they knew by heart. The practice of learning hymns by heart had grown so much that it was condemned by a priestly poet who observes :— "Sacred as a hymn is, what can he do with it when its sense is not known ?[4]" The recitation of sacred

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1 (X. 85, 15.) "The Brahmâ-priests as in season know, oh, Sûrya, thy two wheels"—this commends the Brahmâ-priests and they pronounce the blessings mentioned in (20-28.) of the hymn.

2 The three-fold sacrifices are often mentioned in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ. *Vide* (I. 112, 4.). and (I. 34.). This hymn is interesting as all things admitting of a three-fold division are brought together. See the 3rd and 4th verses.

3 *Vide* (I. 164, 39.).

4 *Vide* (I. 179 4.). The hymn (VII. 33.) is very important for it narrates a legend. First Vasiṣṭha is the name of Agni. In this connection Yasna (II. 18.) deserves to be read. The translation of the passage as given by Bleek is :—"Herewith Zoâthra and Baresma, I

legends excited much interest, and the priest who had a strong retentive memory could live in comfort. But the class had multiplied, for they complained of the chiefs who withheld largesses from them, and incessantly inculcated on the people the duty of charity to the priests.[1] The people had learnt to distinguish between good priests and bad priests.[2] The priests alone cultivated literature and speculation, for they held meetings, discussed some topics and issued diplomas to young students for their admission to sacrifices. The form of diplomas was exceedingly simple. The elderly priests and teachers signified their approval of a successful young man in an assembly of priests. A student who had failed to acquire the necessary amount of knowledge was condemned to be a ploughman.[3] Though subordinate, the social position of a priest was

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wish hither with praise—Asha Vahista—the fire—the son of Ahura Mazda." The word Asha offers a difficulty. It is allied in the Zendâvestâ with Ksatra and perhaps signifies Brahma. But Vahista or Vasistha is fire. Fire is born of Urvashi, one of the Aranis or sacrificial instruments for producing fire. This shows that the legend of Vasistha is very ancient. In the (II. 15, 17.) Râmaqâstra and Zantuma are mentioned. Zantuma is same with Shantanu mentioned in (X. 98.) and repeated and explained by Yâska. This is another story. Such stories were told.

1 *Vide* (I. 18, 1 and 4.) show how a liberal man is prayed for, and the Dâna-stutis in (VI. 47.) bear out these statements.

2 *Vide* (I. 141, 7.) The verse is thus translated by H. H. Wilson :—"Like an insincere, and unrestrained chatterer (who utters indiscriminate) praises."

3 The statements of diplomas and schools are based on (X. 71.). The 9th and 10th verses deserve attention. *Vide* also (VII. 103, 5.). The system of learning a lesson appears to be to learn by rote words as pronounced by a teacher.

important, as a sacrifice they performed was considered to be the direct source not only of all worldly bliss, but of all the gods themselves.[1] This feeling of society deserves special attention, for in process of time the priests succeeded in assuming worldly power and causing a great social revolution.

The populace.

The classes next to the warriors and priests constituted the populace often called Janâsas or the people, *Kri*sti or the cultivators, the Vish or the working classes. The word *Arya* is used which Pâ*n*ini interprets into a lord or a merchant. A pithy remark made by a distinguished English writer appears to us to deserve quotation in this connection. The remark was made in reply to those who persisted in considering Moslems to be barbarians, because they spread their religion by the sword. "But," says the distinguished writer, "before they could spread their religion by the sword, they must have *made* the *sword*." The manufacture of swords indicates a great progress in civilization. In the *R*ik-Sanhitâ, we find bows, arrows, ornaments, clothes, war-chariots and coins of gold mentioned.[2] The Âryas had made, therefore, a great progress in civilization, when they established their supremacy in India. Merchants

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1 *Vide* (X. 130.) and (X. 90.) of the celebrated Purusa-Sûkta.

2 *Vide* the verse (VI. 75.) which mentions the weapons of warriors and their helmets and cuirasses, and war-chariots. *Vide* (I. 126.) hymn, the second verse of which states that the priest called Kaksîvat got a hundred niskas, ten chariots drawn by bay steeds; the 4th verse mentions high spirited steeds decorated with golden trappings.

made voyages or travelled from place to place and traded[1] The facilities for inter-communication which the rivers afforded were amply used.[2] As iron was used, the blacksmiths plied their trade.[3] Carpenters did not want timber, for primeval forests abounded.[4] Cotton was sown, wool was prepared. Weavers[5] made clothes for the luxurious ladies of the chivalrous period: white clothes appear to have been specially prized.[6] The construction of well-balanced boats requires much skill. But boats were frequently constructed. The laws of contract had been developed: sometimes exorbitant interest was charged.[7] Labour and activity were appreciated and commended—a fact which indicates that there were idlers. The lower classes were addicted to dice[8]—the hymns, which describe the condition of those who used dice frequently, show what the

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1 The Aryas are often mentioned. The Aryas were traders—not the Âryas. *Vide* the verse (I. 56, 2.) "(Merchants) covetous of gain crowd the ocean in vessels on a voyage."

2 *Vide* the verse (I. 140, 12.) When facts are used for an illustration, they cannot but be familiar.

3 All the various implements of war and husbandry are mentioned.

4 *Vide* (I. 105, 18.). "A carpenter whose back aches" is mentioned. *Vide* also (IV. 2, 14.) as "wheel-wrights fabricate a car." (H. H. Wilson's translation of the *R*ik-Sanhitâ.)

5 *Vide* (I. 105, 8.) "as a rat (gnaws a weaver's) threads." *Vide* (I. 126, 7.) the words "Gandhârinâmivâvikâ" are used here.

6 *Vide* (III. 39, 2.) "white clothes" or Vastrâṇi Arjunâ.

7 H. H. Wilson translates (III. 53, 14.) "â no bhara Pramagandasya vedas"—bring them (cows) to us (bring also) the wealth of the son of the usurer. Pramaganda cannot be the son of the usurer if it is the name of a prince.

8 *Vide* (X. 34, 2, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14.).

sentiments of the people on the subject were. There were bad women.[1] But the players were probably the skilful labourers who made money by working in a manufactory or under a carpenter and squandered it away, for the hymns about them are tinged with the spirit of pity for them. That they could improve if they knew better is the gist of the songs. But there was a class of regular beggars about whom no hope was entertained.[2] All the classes of Âryan society were accustomed to rise early in the morning, kindle the sacred fire, and make an offering into it.[3] The hymn addressed to the dawn describes the activity of the people. Some, probably the warriors, went away early in the morning to see how they could enrich themselves: others gladly and peacefully followed their trade. A town considerably large was inhabited by a large class of those who aspired after military glory, but who could at the best follow a leader and live the life of an ordinary soldier. The leaders themselves could afford luxury and were often generous. Their mansions were courts in miniature. The priests also occupied an important part of the town. But the populace consisted of husbandmen, traders, and artisans. The slaves had no status.[4] Consider-

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[1] (IV. 32, 16.) mentions a Vadhûyu or a libertine and a young woman Yosan.

[2] For the songs of beggars see Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. V. His metrical translation is beautiful.

[3] See the Vol. V. of Muir's Sanskrit Texts. His metrical translation of the hymns of Ushas deserves to be read.

[4] "The Shûdra was born from the feet of Brahmâ." as stated in (X. 90, 12.).

able progress was made in agriculture. Different cereals were grown: wells[1] were dug and lands were irrigated.[2] Agricultural and pastoral life still predominated, as moulded by chivalrous aspirations. The division of society is marked in (IV. 25, 8.).

Manners and Customs.

The rich were arrogant and exclusive. At least, they appeared so to the poor who sought some favour from them.[3] The middle classes plied their trades and lived in comfort, and the lower classes merely lived from hand to mouth. Such a division is hinted in the *Rik*-Sanhitâ.[4] The houses were not magnificently built. Their construction was simple. They resembled a tent more than the complex buildings of modern times. In the *Grihya*-Sûtra, a detailed explanation of the different parts of a house is given. Few houses had second stories. But particular attention was paid to cleanliness, neatness, and sanitation. The hymn addressed to Vâstospati, the lord of dwellings, speaks even of elegant paths,[5]

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1 The metaphor "as a thirsty ox or a thirsty man hastens to a well." *Vide* (I. 130, 2.) the word Vansaga is used twice. *Avatam* is the word for a well, but it may mean a tank. H. H. Wilson translates it into a well. But the verse (VII. 49, 2.) uses the word *Khanitrimâ* from *khan* to dig and is thus explicit.

2 The above (VII. 49, 2.) supports this statement.

3 *Vide* (1. 145, 2.) "Agni tolerates not a speech that anticipates (his reply), nor endures a rejoinder." This is said of Agni because the conduct of an aristocrat is considerd to be an exemplar by the poet.

4 *Vide* again (IV. 25, 8.).

5 *Vide* (VII. 54, 3.) "Ranvayâ gâtumatyâ"—meaning charming foot-paths. Gâtu means a way as explained by Yâska.

about which nice flower-plants were arranged. Dogs generally guarded the entrance to a house.[1] In the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ, they are affectionately mentioned, but in the Zendâvestâ, a special predilection for them is shown. In the central part of a house, a little to the east, a place extending from the west to the east was dedicated to the gods as the domestic sacrificial ground.[2] The altar and the three fire-places were constructed in this place. At first, it was simply called the Sadas, or the place of sitting, and the god Sadaspati protected it. Special importance was attached to the place. A Ṛoman did not value the security of his flag so much as the ancient Ârya valued his *Sadas*. Its desecration showed the ruin of his family. It was protected against the attacks of enemies. Its sight awakened the feelings of hope and generated new aspirations. The whole family consisting of sons and grand-sons assembled on the consecrated ground. Here the sacred songs were chaunted:[3] the morning and evening libations were carefully offered: the gods were invited in words, at once familiar and sacred; the children joined the chorus;[4] and the significant

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1 *Vide* (VII. 55.). The hymn describes the Sârameya. He is a dog, and has been the subject of much discussion and speculation among European Mythologists led by ingenious Dr. Max Muller.

2 The sacrificial chamber is too often mentioned in the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ to require a special reference.

3 *Vide* (I. 1, 7 and 8.). The first hymns of the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ illustrate the importance attached to a sacrifice which is performed (Dive Dive) day by day.

4 The idea of chorus is based on the way in which Sâmas are sung, on the fact that many hymns have regular burden, or refrain to be repeated at the end of each verse, and on such passages as Parjanyâya Praṛâyata—"Sing for the rain." "Oh arkins, oh Gathins sing."

svâhâ (स्वाहा) and vausat (वौषट्) were reiterated till the roof resounded. Grass-seats were spread:[1] Skins carefully prepared were used.[2] On occasions of festivity, there was a great deal of hilarity. The new or full moon was specially hailed with delight. The house was embellished. Grass was tied over the door and about its sides.[3] The stones on which Soma was pounded were supposed to chaunt songs.[4] No wonder. A hollow slit which surrounded a solid quadrangle, and on which the stones were mounted produced a reverberating sound.[5] As time was kept in using the pestle, the sound was harmonious. It was not every body that could drink the Soma. A patriarch who had performed minor sacrifices or a sacred seer, whose mind was purified by piety and was elevated by poetical powers, could alone offer Soma into the sacred fire.[6] It necessarily constituted a social distinction and became an object of social ambition.[7] The wife and husband

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1 Barhis—so often mentioned. For instance, *Vide* (I. 38, 9.).

2 *Vide* the Soma-Prayoga, where directions for embellishing the Sadas are given.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Vide* the ninth Mandala.

5 *Vide* the Soma-prayoga where its construction is thoroughly and carefully explained.

6 *Vide* (I. 77.). The fifth verse deserves attention. We will quote the translation of H. H. Wilson—"To them has he given the bright *Soma* to drink along with the sacrificial food." The translations of H. H. Wilson are faithful, because he faithfully follows our Indian Commentators. *Vide* also the verse (III. 43, 5.) which is explicit.

7 The Soma-Yâjin is always distinguished from mere ordinary sacrificers throughout the sacrificial Sûtras such as those of Âshvalâyana or Boudhâyana.

were under a necessity to live in amity and love. They[1] had together to make an offering into the sacred fire every morning and evening. Twice every day they came together, spoke with each other, and took a part in the Soma-sacrifice. Thus no quarrel could last after the evening libation. The custom of keeping hair on the head varied in different clans.[2] The Vasis*th*as had a tuft of hair on the right side. White clothes were considered to be specially sacred. A Parsi-priest even now always wears white clothes. The property of the ancient Ârya invariably consisted of lands, pastures, and his cows. The ceremony of milking cows was early symbolized. Go-doha or milking cows is an important part of every sacrifice from the new and full moon oblations to the great Agnis*t*oma-sacrifice. But about the time of which we write, it was not a symbol but a reality. The patriarch rose early in the morning: the cows were arranged: each was affectionately addressed. Her calf was first fed and tied away. One by one the cows were milked. Six wet cows were absolutely necessary for maintaining social respectability. Hence cows were often stolen. The aborigines found it easy to revenge themselves on the invading Âryas by driving away their cows. But the Âryas were also prepared against the annoyance. As soon as the herd of cows disappeared, hue and cry was raised[3]

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1 *Vide* (V. 43, 5.) The Grihya-practice of daily sacrifices is thus old.

2 The Vasis*th*as kept a lock of hair on the right side. *Vide* (VII. 33, 1.).

3 *Vide* (I. 151, 5 and 6.).

and sharp men who traced the track of a thief by observing foot-prints, set to work.[1] The thief was detected. But this so constantly took place that their folklore, language, and mythology were affected by it. Homely metaphors which enliven private conversation originated in the common danger with which every Ârya was familiar. Bards went about reciting the songs of such men as discovered the cows concealed by the Dâsas in a cave out of the way, and as single-handed despatched sometimes a strong Dâsa, knocking him down by one blow of their lusty wrists.[2] A variety of dishes were prepared, but milk was indispensable. Butter and curds were essential in every meal. Fried grains mixed up with milk were particularly relished. Soma was mixed up with milk and seasoned. Wooden cups sparkled with the celestial drink which was ceremoniously taken. It had a pleasant flavour and was as intoxicating as the generous wine. Its sight cheered up the spirits of the Âryas, its scent inspired them, its touch thrilled them, the sound which it made when pounded, lulled them, its taste generated such sensations as beggar all description for the *Ri*sis could not exhaust the enumeration of its qualities even in a long Ma*n*dala. The Âryas worshipped no images for no process of idolatry is mentioned. The arguments of Dr. Bollensen[3] prove

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1 *Vide* (I. 65, 1 and 2.). In these verses "following the foot-prints of the fugitive" and "detecting a thief" are mentioned.

2 The stories of Indra restoring cows hidden by *V*ritras, of Dâsas driving away cows, of warriors recovering them, originated in the actual circumstances of life.

3 *Vide* the journal of the German Oriental Society, (xxii. 578 ff.).

too much. In the Jewish scriptures even God Jehovah is spoken of in a variety of ways which may be considered according to Dr. Bollensen to indicate the existence of idolatry among the Jews. "God made man in his own image," is a direct and distinct statement which Dr. Bollensen cannot easily explain away. Yet the Jewish scriptures can never be accused of sanctioning idolatry. A few isolated words in the voluminous hymns of the ancient Âryas cannot warrant a conclusion, and in the case of Dr. Bollensen, the conclusion he draws is totally false. Nor did the Âryas frequent sacred places. Tîrthas are mentioned in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, but they mean simply fords. Sâya*n*âchârya interprets the word into a sacred place. But the ancient Âryan literature such as the Nirukta of Yâska, the grammar of Pâ*n*ini, and the commentary of Patanjali do not support the interpretation of Sâya*n*a. The customary law was fixed. It was significantly called *Ri*ta or *conduct*. At the time of the marriage-ceremony, the bride and the bride-groom were anointed with butter and milk. Similar customs were recognized by the whole Âryan community even before India was invaded. They were subsequently written down by Âshvalâyana. The laws of inheritance deserve special mention. The eldest son inherited the property of his father. It was incumbent upon him to get his sister married, and to see that she was comfortably settled. When the lineal male issue failed, the son or even the grandson of a daughter was allowed to inherit his maternal grand-father's property; but rich gifts were conferred on his father. Sometimes a father settled a portion of

his property on a grown up son.[1] But it appears that all questions about inheritance or the performance of a rite were referred to intelligent grown up men who had at least attained to the age of fifty.[2] Bound down by rules of conduct, as they had grown up—the inflexible and unaccommodating *Ṛita*—and impelled by the ideal truth,—that which the poets painted, which the sacrifice embodied, which regulated celestial movements and the conduct of gods, and of which only glimpses were vouchsafed to man—the eternal *Satya*[3]—the ancient Âryas lived on, enlarging the resources of life, moving towards the glorious East, occupying more territory and advancing in civilization.

Beliefs and Superstitions.

The ancient Âryas had their fears and their hopes, their defeats and their successes, their embarrassments and their reliefs, their difficulties and triumphs, their dangers and their escapes. When a marvellous phenomenon is not explained and understood, an hypothesis is attempted by man

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1 *Vide* (III. 31.). As describing social customs, the hymn deserves special attention.

2 *Vide* (I. 158, 6.). The translation of H. H. Wilson is given as it reproduces the comment of Mâdhava :—Dirghatamas, the son of Mamatâ, has grown old after the tenth *Yuga* (has passed) : he is the *Brahmâ* of those who seek to obtain the object of their (pious) works : he is their charioteer. The important word in the hymn is Yatînâm. As among the Romans so among the Indian Âryas, old men were leaders of the people. They were the Brahmâ, yes, charioteers of the people.

3 *Ṛitam* and Satyam are the distinctive words of the *Ṛik*-Sanhitâ.

for explaining it. When every superstition or what appears an irrational belief is analysed, it resolves itself into such an hypothesis. The Ârya was exposed to great dangers. Disposed to believe in the aid of his gods, he attributed his deliverance to superhuman causes. He peopled the earth, atmosphere and the heavens with supernatural beings, whom he called Râksasas, and whom he characterized as mischievous spirits intent upon his ruin. He believed that the gods or his Devas took a special interest in his welfare, and that they listened to his prayers and supplication. If Vritra withheld rain, Indra came to his aid and overcoming Vritra, brought down rain. Thus supernatural good powers were opposed to supernatural evil powers. If the sun was eclipsed, he would attribute it to the power of a demon, and would believe that the Mantras chaunted by a priest overcame the demon, and the sun was saved from being swallowed up.[1] Jaundice and consumption appear to be the prevalent diseases of this period.[2] Sacred hymns were repeated over the body of the diseased, and relief was sought. The invading Ârya was superstitious, and full of faith in the power of sacred

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[1] *Vide* (V. 40, 8 and 9.) H. H. Wilson's translation is correct. The verses, however, are simple and easy—"8. Then the Brahman (Atri) applying the stones together, propitiating the gods with praise, and adoring them with reverence, placed the eye of Sûrya in the sky: he dispersed the delusions of Svar-bhânu. 9. The sun, whom the Asura, Svar-bhânu, had enveloped with darkness, the sons of Atri subsequently recovered: no others were able (to effect his release.)"

[2] *Vide* (X. 161.) and *Vide* (X. 163.). The latter is a regular Mantra or spell.

chaunts and of his gods, to whom he offered worship and sacrifices to appease them as well as to secure their help.

Sphagiology.

Thus Sphagiology originated. We have already stated that the sacrifices of the pastoral and agricultural periods or stages of civilization were extremely simple. But large additions were made to Sphagiology during the period of chivalry, and in the course of invasion. Sphagiological changes were considered to be progress and innovation, which was vehemently opposed by the conservative and orthodox. Yet Sphagiological speculations and practices multiplied. Sacrifices had been offered every day twice.[1] Agni had been generated by friction:[2] its production had often awakened in the minds of the Âryas feelings of the marvellous and of awe:[3] clarified butter had often been poured into the sacred fire : three fires around an altar had been systematically arranged. Sacred grass had been brought from a wilderness for the special purpose of a sacrifice:[4] the forms Svâhâ[5] and Vasat

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1 *Vide* (I. 16, 3.). "We invoke Indra, at the morning sacrifice."

2 *Vide* (I. 12, 3.). "Agni, being born, bring hither the gods to the clipped sacred grass."

3 *Vide* (I. 13, 5.). "Strew, learned priests, the sacred grass, well-bound together (in bundles), and sprinkled with clarified butter, the semblance of Ambrosia." The translation is given here as made by H. H. Wilson.

4 *Vide* (I. 13.) in which the sacred grass is often mentioned.

5 *Vide* (I. 13, 12.) Svâhâ is used.

had been stereotyped and had lost their original signification, nay their etymology. The number of sacrifices had been indefinitely known: generally twenty-one sacrifices had been enumerated:[1] the morning and evening Soma-libations had been made: the stones for squeezing Soma had been deified.[2] From the Agnyâdhâna (consecration of fire) to the Agnistoma (a great Soma-sacrifice) and the Ashva-medha (a horse-sacrifice), the sacrificial system had been developed. At different seasons new sacrifices were performed.[3] The priests recommended them to prosperous patriarchs, and the patriarchs listened to the priests who devoted all the time they could spare to the study of the sacred hymns by rote. A poet satirically remarks that they cried out like frogs.[4] A new sacrifice is spoken of.[5] Thus all the energy was directed in the channel of the growth of Sphagiology—a growth that can be explained by the amalgamation of tribes. Before the invasion of India, different tribes followed their own sacrificial customs. But the invasion of India and its occupation brought members of different tribes together; they now formed one settlement. The priests, customs, and

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1 *Vide* (I. 20, 7.) "Perfect the thrice-seven sacrifices."

2 *Vide* (I. 28.) H. H. Wilson translates the 2nd verse thus:—"Indra, (in the rite) in which the two platters, for containing the juice,—as (broad as a woman's) hips,—are employed, recognise and partake of the effusions of the mortar."

3 *Vide* (I. 84, 18.) "Or worships him with the oblation of clarified butter, presented in the ladle, according to the constant seasons?"

4 *Vide* (VII. 103.). It is known as the frog-hymn or Mandûka-Sûkta.

5 *Vide* (VI. 6, 1.). Navyasâ and yajnena are important words.

forms of tribal sacrifices were to be accommodated. A Sphagiological fusion took place. This alone can explain the different manners of priests so far as mere drinking of Soma, their individual fires as in the case of the Dhis*n*yâ fires, their separate seats and rooms as the Agnidhrîya and Mârjâlîya,—where separate fires were kindled—and their separate oblations into their own fires are concerned. The domestic Âhavanîya fire is known in the sacrificial system as ancient fire (Purâ*n*a).[1] The opposition of Tvas*t*ri to the Ribhus who constructed four ladles and employed them in a sacrifice can be explained on the same hypothesis. In the controversy, Tvas*t*ri is said to have become a woman.[2] The conservative faction worshipped Tvas*t*ri. The reformers were of the tribe of the Ribhus. Reform triumphed over orthodoxy. That Tvas*t*ri become a woman, is a characteristic way of narrating the story of triumph in the contest. The incorporation of the tribes was made by the amalgamation of their sacrificial customs.[3] When the Ribhus were incorporated, they succeeded in making their progenitors *young a second time*, for before their incorporation the tribe of the

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1 *Vide* the Soma-prayoga in which all these are fully explained.

2 *Vide* (I. 161, 4.) the words are :—"Tvas*t*â gnâsvantar nyânaje."

3 *Vide* (I. 161, 1.) Notice the words :—"na nindima chamasam yo mahâkulo agne." How can a cup (chamasa) be a well-born (mahâkulah) ? *Vide* (I. 161, 9.). See how the beliefs of the different tribes are characterized.—Âpo bhûyis*th*â ityeko abravîdagnir bhûyis*th*a ityanyo abravît. *Vide* (I. 161, 12.) the words are :—ashapata yah karasnam va âdade yah prâbravît pro tasmâ abravîtana. These words indisputably show the existence of a controversy between tribes.

Ribhus had no social status in the community of the Âryas. The whole hymn (I. 162.) is interesting from a Sphagiological point of view. It describes the horse-sacrifice and mentions the way in which a triumphal pillar (yûpa) and its ornamented top (chasâla) were prepared and used. During the pastoral and agricultural periods, a sacrifice was a reality. The gods actually communed with man in as much as his fervid faith did not only imagine that gods visited his triumphal pillar which marked the boundary of his pasture or his thrashing floor, but could realize the picture which his fancy painted. Offerings were made to gods who were invited in simple strains. This reality passed away in the period of chivalry, when Sphagiology was only an idea—a warm, inspiring, and vivid idea. It had ceased to be an image. This was the secondary period of Sphagiology. Gradually the idea passed into a symbol, and the symbol was petrified into a form. The history of this transformation will be traced in the sequel.

Mythology.

Mythology also passes through the four stages of a life-like reality, an idea, a symbol, and a form. Sphagiology and Mythology are twin-sisters conducing to the growth of each other. During the period of which we are writing, neither Mythology nor Sphagiology was originated. We have analysed Mythology and Sphagiology and traced their origin. They grew up during the period when the *Risis* sang their hymns which invoked gods and invited them to the

sacrifices. The offerings were regulated by the Yâjusha formulæ. Invocation always precedes offerings. Hence the *Ri*k-hymns take precedence of the Yâjusha formulæ in point of time. But the statements that there is only one Veda, and that it is the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, will be examined in the sequel. About the time when the Âryas invaded and occupied portions of India, when the deepest recesses of the Âryan minds were stirred up, when their traditions, customs, and manners underwent great changes, and when the new circumstances, in which they were placed, exerted new influences and moulded the aspirations and conceptions of the new community, new sacrificial formulæ as well as new hymns were composed. An illustration will elucidate our statement. When in Âriânâ itself, the Âryas attached great importance to the Soma-plant. It was considered the source of health and strength, or that which sustains the body, or hyperbolically, the body itself, or life itself. The Greeks carried the word σῶμα—σώματος, the (*r*)*os* being the genitive termination corresponding to Sanskrit *as*—in their emigration. The Latins called it Homo and meant by it a man. But the word is the same still, though Western nations substituted wine for Soma. The Âryas, when they had entered India, felt sadly the want of Soma—the celestial drink. The want magnified its importance. New songs were composed in praise of the plant. The mountain Mûjavat, where it grew, was affectionately remembered. The Soma-plant was considered to possess a variety of virtues. The processes of preparing the drink and the instruments of its

preparation were deified, nay, important additions to the sacrifice in which *Soma* was used were made. *Soma* could no longer be gathered in the place of its growth. It had to be bought from Gandharvas.[1] It had to be carried on bullock-carts. It had to be taken care of, lest thieves should steal it. It had to be washed with water. The carts had to be located under a beautiful bower. When such processes enlarged Sphagiology, new stories about procuring Soma were told. He that brought it was specially commended. But the enterprise and its accomplishment were attributed to supernatural causes, and a rude hypothesis explained it. A falcon[2] was actually supposed to take a part in bringing Soma. Supernatural efficacy was ascribed to a mere metre or a kind of verse. Thus additions were made to Mythology. Secondly, the new circumstances naturally enlarged the view of the Âryas. When the Greeks conquered Asia Minor and parts of Persia under Alexander the Great, their conceptions of the *Cosmos* or the world were materially changed. The discovery of America had an analogous effect upon the European nations. The discovery and occupation of the parts of India had a similar effect on the ancient Âryas. They attributed their success to their gods. And their

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1 The way in which it was bought, the conversation between a vendor and a vendee, and the bullock-carts on which it was taken, its artificial preservation—all these are fully described in the Soma-Prayoga.

2 *Vide* (III. 43, 7.) This story of a falcon bringing Soma was developed at the time of the Brahmavâdins. It is fully told in the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

conceptions of their gods were materially enlarged. Indra became the creator of the universe. Agni was omnipresent. Thus the conception of every god was more or less affected. Thus Mythology was enlarged. Stories of the way in which Indra killed Vritra, or Agni burnt an endless forest, were told and listened to, with a new zest and energy which their circumstances produced. Thirdly, their circumstances supplied abundant materials. The genius of the *Rishis*—poets and bards—worked up the materials. The history of the Âryas, from the time they entered India to the time their prestige was established, teemed with a series of brilliant exploits which they invariably explained as the result of the intervention of their gods. Hence Indra is mentioned in the *Rik*-Sanhitâ as aiding more than fifty Âryan leaders against their enemies. Agni is praised in the same way. Whole hymns speak of the power of the Ashvins and the wondrous way in which they relieved the distress of their worshippers. The conquest of India in modern times affords an interesting analogy. Englishmen in India speak of an ice-famine; the ancient Âryas missed their *Soma*. Englishmen in India speak of Anglo-Indian life, manners and customs, and exhibit boastfulness of thought and action: the ancient Âryas spoke of themselves and their gods in a boastful manner. "I" says a god "have given land to the Âryas." The boastfulness was encouraged and confirmed by the inferiority of the aboriginal races. A similar cause produces a similar effect in modern India. The ancient Âryas spoke of their heroes as being the special care of their gods, and magnified their

enterprises. The Englishman speaks with pride, glory and self-complacency of his Indian heroes. The analogy is not perfect, because there is one special circumstance which makes all the difference between the two cases. The ancient Âryas settled in India. The modern Englishman is only a sojourner till he makes his fortune. Hence the influences of the new circumstances acted intensely on ancient Âryas. The modern Englishman seeks to shake off the influence of Anglo-Indian life on his return to England. Thus the new influences, we believe, explain the growth of Indian Mythology. We cannot minutely examine Professor Max Müller's lingual theory of the origin of Mythology in this essay. But we can afford to touch its salient points. The ancient Ârya gave different and many names to his gods and to the physical phenomena he observed. Gradually he forgot the exact signification and importance of the names. He ceased to understand the names and yet to use them. Thus the different names originated the gorgeous Mythology of the Âryan Nations. Mr. Cox, in his Mythology of the Âryan Nations, reproduces the theory of Professor Max Müller with the fidelity of a pupil. Professor Whitney, though he ridicules Mr. Cox, understands the theory of Professor Max Müller as we have stated it. An important assumption underlies the ingenious theory,—the tendency of man to forget the signification of words and the exact meaning of names. But it would require great credulity of mind to accept the theory founded on a weakness of man. Professor Max Müller's genius could see

this at once. He has, therefore, written an interesting essay on Modern Mythology, which is demonstrated to originate in forgetting the exact import of names. He thus lays the basis for a scientific analogy. As in modern times, the import of names being forgotten, a Mythology originates, so the origin of Mythology in ancient times could be traced to the same cause. This is at first sight incontrovertible. But the analogy, when examined, betrays a great flow. There is nothing in common between modern Mythology and ancient Mythology. The former consists of a few irregular, isolated and obscure stories: the latter was interwoven in the life of nations, in-as-much as their conceptions were influenced and their conduct regulated by it. Modern Mythology is known in the Essay of the ingenious Professor himself. We will put a parallel case for the sake of illustration. Let it be supposed that in modern times, stratification of a kind is observed in an obscure place at the mouths of small rivers. The stratification can be explained by the drainage of silt from some farms. Agriculture is, therefore, its cause. From this analogy, if geological stratification were explained by the hypothesis of agriculture, the theory would be laughed at. In like manner, Professor Müller's modern Mythology and its origin cannot explain ancient Mythology of the Âryan Nations and its origin. What then is the origin of Âryan Mythology? We humbly say, before the question is answered satisfactorily, let the fossils imbedded in Mythology—the attributes, the ideas of gods, and the Sphagiological practices

and speculations—be carefully examined. We humbly believe that the origin of Sphagiology and Mythology is the same. When the historical method of investigation could not be known, when man had not learnt to have sufficient self-confidence, when the scientific methods of investigation such as the principles of induction were not even dreamed of, and when yet on all sides man was surrounded by the mysterious, the marvellous and the superhuman, man formed hypotheses for the explanation and the apprehension of what he observed. His hypotheses, though entirely irrational and unscientific, paved the way for the systems of Sphagiology and Mythology. He explained the natural by the supernatural. If he saw an eclipse, he prayed to his gods and made an offering that the moon might be delivered. If he got fever, he prayed to his gods and made an offering that he might be relieved. If his mind was perturbed, and his spirits sank, he prayed to his gods and made an offering.[1] If a drought threatened, he prayed to his gods and made an offering. Relief always came in time. His deliverance was effected as he wished. He told a *story* about the intervention of his god and continued to offer him a *sacrifice*. Thus Mythology and Sphagiology originated. Where Sphagiology did

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[1] We have referred to the hymn of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. An eclipse of the sun alarmed the Âryas till a priest chaunted some Mantras and delivered the sun. He prayed against the power of consumption. He was frightened by bad dreams and asked his gods to help him. He dreaded the evil power of such birds as pigeons.

not flourish, Mythology did not take its rise. Where Mythology could not be nourished, Sphagiology withered, for they act and re-act on each other. Modern India furnishes an illustration,—not far from Poona, an ancient god has become incarnate, offerings are made to him, and stories are told about his power to work miracles. Positive methods of proof and investigation are a growth of modern times. It requires an extraordinary strength of mind to believe and affirm that man cannot know much, and that he should patiently work before he generalizes. Such a thing cannot be expected with propriety from the ancient Ârya. He elaborated and interpreted the natural by means of the supernatural. In this state of mind, history is impossible. Investigation of facts is impossible. He thought; he theorized: he imagined: he believed: he developed Sphagiology and Mythology.

Philosophy and Literature.

Philosophy as including Cosmological, Psychological, and Theological speculations was essentially Sphagiological. At sacrificial meetings, questions were asked and answered. In this connection the verses (I. 164, 34-35) of the *Ṛik*-Sanhitâ afford a good illustration. Sacrifice as an abstract existence was deified. The gods are said to have created the universe by means of a sacrifice.[1] The different powers of the human mind were traced to different gods who by means of a sacrifice were worthy of

[1] *Vide* (X. 90.): this is the celebrated Puruṣa-Sûkta.

worship. A two-fold power, so far as the creative influence is concerned, was believed to exist—the true and the untrue,[1] or literally the existent and non-existent. This division can be easily explained. The Âryas as opposed to the Dasyus represented the two-fold power. The existent predominated: the Âryas triumphed: between the two the idea of sustenance or stability was interposed. The phrase—Yoga-ksema[2]—is significant as expressive of that which sustains the universe. Morally the true and false waged an eternal war. He who embraced the true and acted up to it, prospered. But the abstract sacrifice created the universe, embraced and sustained it. It was, therefore, the true—the existent—the eternal. Yet the poets entertained and expressed doubts. The hymn which declares that nothing existed, that there was a void, that a feeling of love came upon a god, and that the world was created, is interesting, for all Cosmological speculations of the Brâhmaṇa-works originated

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1 See (VII. 104, 12.). The verse is important. It is this—"Suvijnânam chikituse janâya sachchâsachcha vachasi paspridhâte tayor yat satyam yatarad rijîyas tadit somo(a)vati hantyâsat." Sâyaṇa divides this verse or rather the first sentence—a procedure which the Pûrva-Mîmânsakas condemn as the division of a sentence. To the man possessing good knowledge, (there is) the struggle between speaking truth and speaking falsehood (literally these two struggles); of these Soma protects that which is true, which is straighter *i.e.*, upright (and) puts down (what is) false. Compare (X. 119, 1.) "iti vâ iti me manas"—"so, indeed so my mind" (literally), that is, there has been a struggle in my mind." *Vide* (X. 126, 1.), Amhas is distinguished from Durita, read (X. 129.).

2 Yoga-kṣema is one phrase. Shamyus is another. They are often used throughout the Ṛik-Sanhitâ.

in it :—Such as Prajâpati desired that he would multiply, and the desire was embodied and expressed in the concrete existences, and physical phenomena of nature. From this state of thought, at once indefinite and grasping, it can be seen that knowledge itself as personified under the name of speech was deified. Speech or Vâk was eternal and varied.[1] But the supreme spirit, though called by various names, was one.[2] One of his names is Garutmân or Garothman[3] of the Zendâvestâ. Thus the duality of human nature, of the nature of gods, (for every god was considered, though rarely, to be merciful as well as severe),[4] the abhorrence of sin, and dependence on God, were tenets common to the Indian Âryas and to the Mazdayasnians. The predominant national sentiment was ruled by the principles and practices of Sphagiology. Literature, therefore, which indicates the direction of national thought and feeling, partook of the same. It has been stated that the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ is the only

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1 *Vide* (X. 53.) the part of the 10th verse deserves attention specially :—Vidvânsah padâ guhyâni kartana yena devâso amritatvamânashuh. It means :—Oh learned ! make the secret or inscrutable verses that Gods may enjoy immortality. *Vide* (X. 71.) the whole hymn speaks of Vâk and its connection with Yajna and their influence on the learned associates. *Ânashuh* is translated into "prâptâh" or "had obtained" by Sâyana. We have interpreted into "may enjoy." Our authority is the Sûtra of Pânini—(III. 4, 6.) *chhandasi luñlañlitah*, which means "in the Chhandas the Aorist, the imperfect, and *lit*-past-tense are used in the sense of *let* or conjunctive tense.

2 *Vide* (I. 164, 46.). Though *one*, the poets call him in various ways."

3 *Vide* Khordah-Avestâ (XIV. 2.).

4 We have already referred to the two-fold nature of Indra. Again, of Agni it is said he has a (ghorâ as well as Shivâ tanus) dreadful as well as beneficent body."

Veda. We humbly make bold to say that the statement is not correct, and that no evidence has ever been produced to substantiate the statement. The word Yajus in the sense of a Mantra or a sacrificial formula is mentioned in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ which only treats of the hymns to be repeated by the Hotâ at a sacrifice, and yet which speaks of the four-fold division[1] of the sacrificial priests, an offering to be made to gods forming the essence of a sacrifice. But no offering can be made till the god, to whom it is to be made, is named, praised, and invited. The latter function is discharged by a Hotâ who recites the Ṛik-verses entitled Puronuvâkyâ. The offering is thrown into a sacred fire by an Adhvaryu. These both go together. But it may be said that this is a later arrangement. In reply, we have to state that Sphagiological, Philological, and Mythological facts point to one conclusion.[2] The Taittirîya-Sanhitâ which is admitted to be more ancient than the Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ, and to which Paṇini directly

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1 *Vide* (X. 71, 11.), where the functions of the Hotâ, the Udgâtâ, the Brahmâ, and the Adhvaryu, are distinctly mentioned: no other interpretation of the passage can be proposed.

2 *Vide* (VII. 103.). In the seventh verse, the Atirâtra-sacrifice is mentioned by name. In the 8th, the Gharma, an important part of the Soma-sacrifice, is mentioned; the Sominah Brâhmaṇah and the Adhvaryu-priests preparing the Gharma are mentioned by name. When such a complex sacrificial system existed, when a sacrificial formula (Yajus) is mentioned by name, when the different varieties of the Sâma are described, when the four priests are mentioned as in (X. 71, 11.), and even the sacrificial practices of the priests are satirized as in (VII. 103.), the conclusion is incontrovertible, that the Yâjusa formulæ existed. We are preparing a separate essay for discussing this question.

refers frequently, co-existed with the greater portion of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. The former contains the sacrificial formulæ—the code of the officiating priest known as Adhvaryu,—and the latter contains the invocations of the gods. The first opens with the process of milking cows for a sacrifice, milking cows being considered important by a pastoral community only. To say that the Âryas were pastoral after the composition of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, is to say that a nation passes from the state of chivalry and advanced civilization into the pastoral or agricultural condition. In the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ rude customs such as the immolation of human beings can be traced, while no trace of such customs can be found in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. To say that the Indian Âryas retrograded after the composition of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ so far as not only to forget the ancient customs but to substitute barbarous ones in their stead, is to assume that there is no chronological sequence in the development of history. Secondly, the formation of words, the grammatical terminations as laid down by Pâ*ṇ*ini for the Yajus, and the syntactical arrangement warrant the conclusion that the Yajus-Sanhitâ existed; of course, as it gave practical directions, it was, and could not but be, recast from time to time so as to be intelligible. In the case of the *Ri*ks, there was not such a necessity. Yet the poets of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ often boast of uttering a new hymn. Thirdly, the mythology of the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ supports its co-existence with the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. There is hardly a single myth that points to later times. We believe the question deserves to

be considered to be yet open at least till sufficient evidence is collected. Of course, these remarks apply to a treatise so far as the formulæ used in sacrifices are concerned, these alone constituting a Sanhitâ and later additions being separated. Some poems were considered to be worthy of being constantly repeated, others were believed to be powerful enough to demolish demons and enemies. A *Ri*si was highly respected. " He was the praiser of the gods eminent among devout persons." "The instructions of one learned in scriptures"[1] were devoutly sought. The poets and bards represented the sharpest and most intellectual Âryas of the time. Every variety of metre is used: there is considerable alliteration. There is seldom punning on words except in one remarkable case. We have already shown that *ka* in the Zendâvestâ meant the sun, and that it is well-known that the sun is the Prajâpati. Throughout the hymn, " Kasmai devâya havisa vidhema" which is quoted in all the Sanhitâs,—the Taittirîya, Vâjasaneya, Atharva,—the word *ka*, being connected with the pronoun *who*, reminds the reader of the god Prajâpati, who is distinctly mentioned in the last but one verse of the hymn. Again, the attributes of the god *ka* are mentioned. If *ka* expresses simply doubts, a variety of gods ought to have been mentioned : the mind of the poet being confused as to the proper god to be worshipped, he ought to exclaim " what god can I worship ?"[2] The question is simply rhetorical and

1 *Vide* (IX. 16, 3.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.

2 " To what god may I do with a sacrifice " is the literal translation of " Kasmai devâya havisâ vidhema ?"

the poet puns on the word *ka*. The statement that the Brahmavâdins, Âchâryas, and Scholars like Patanjali did not understand the hymn when they declared :—" Kah Prajâpatih " deserves at least to be reconsidered. The poets of the *Ri*ks exultingly display their powers of imagination: they paint scenes of nature and the attitude of the worshippers to their gods: they sing of their gods with a familiarity of language which surprises us, with a vehemence which animates us, with a faith which elevates us, with a depth of sentiment which moves us, with a power of description, which charms us into realizing the remote past, and with a combination of such particulars and generals about nature and its phenomena as enlarges the understanding, presenting a picture of the simple, impulsive, ambitious, believing, and self-confident ancient Ârya, at once secular and religious—secular, because he frequently asks his gods to grant him food, racy children, and victory over his enemies; and religious, because he depends on his gods, realizes their presence and attributes whatever he enjoys to them. The philosophical and religious sentiments of the *Risi*s—the thinkers of this period—are brought together in the following quotation from our poem entitled the "*Ri*si":—

" O Âryas, life the laws essential shows—[1]
A composition, sustenance, repose.[2]

[1] *Vide* the hymns where the words Yoga and Ksema occur. In the *Ri*g-veda, heaven is described. But Hell or transmigration of souls is never alluded to. " Repose" is expressed by the ideas as developed in the (I. 164.) hymn of the *Ri*g-Veda-Sanhitâ.

[2] The first portion of the lecture is based on (X. 129.), to the particular words and phrases of which reference is made.

The mighty intellect that rules supreme
Creates a mediate and eternal stream
Of infinite expanse of time and space,[1]
Which objects—all unknown and known—embrace,[2]
Developing a double power and strong,[3]
Which brings forth truth and falsehood—right and wrong.[4]
The one developes all destructive laws,[5]
Collapsing chaos dark, replete with flaws;
The other forms, developes and sustains
Whate'er the world's constructive growth ingrains.[6]
Original constructive power desires[7]
To form the Universe, and pull its wires.
The softer attributes like mercy cope
With this constructive stronger power for scope.[8]
Mercy exhibits its sustaining grace:[9]
Thus the three elements each other brace.
Always each other right and wrong oppose—[10]
Why do they? Every answer doubtful grows.

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1 This and the other lines are based on the expression:—Ânîd-avâtam svadhayâ as in (X. 129.).

2 *Vide* (1. 89, 10.). 3 *Vide* (1. 164, 20.). 4 *Vide* (X. 5, 7.).

5 Notice the words "salilam and "tamas" and "sat" in (X. 129.).

6 Notice the power of "sat" in (X. 129.).

7 Notice the word Kâma in (X. 129, 4.). The power of Kâma is too often referred to in the Vedic literature to call for a special note. "Tapas taptvâ akâmayata" is the phrase which always occurs, when the creation of the world or its part is described.

8 *Vide* (VIII. 23, 8.), and (X. 64, 28.), "The word Kripâ originally means power soft and beneficial. Now it means mercy.

9 This is sacrifice—the essential part of it is an appeal to the mercy of God. It is the cause of Divine mercy; the cause is inseparable from the effect.

10 *Vide* (VII. 104, 12.).

Perpetual growth in righteousness allowed,
Growth intellectual checked however proud.[1]
Into the mysterious dark man tries to pry.
He fails to know how works it, whence, and why.
Man should depend on God for knowledge true,
Man helped by God, succeeds or he must rue
His self-conceited philosophic flight,
And piteous, disappointed, painful plight.
An intellectual mystery deep surrounds
Any great sage whatever be his grounds.
Into the mystery dark he seeks to pry,
His grasp transcends itself though ever high.

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1 *Vide* (X. 129, 6-7.). The last line of this hymn is "who the president of this (the *seen*) in highest Heaven alas! knows it or not knows." This is the literal translation of the original. When this utterance of the *Rishis* is collated with "Sukritasya Panthâm" in (X. 71, 6.)—the way of righteousness—or with the description of Heaven as given in the last hymn of the 9th Mandala, it becomes necessary to restrict the utterance in question to mere intellectual difficulties, as distinguished from spiritual aspirations. The questions proposed in the 129th hymn are all based on intellectual difficulties. In the *Rik*-Sanhitâ not a single phrase is met with which betrays difficulties in the way of spiritual aspirations. In the passage we have literally translated, the poet doubtless consciously introduces the phrase "highest Heaven" and speaks in charming words of the "President of this." Every utterance of the *Rishi* has significance as belonging to an age of homogeneous thought and feeling, and ought to be interpreted along with the utterances of other *Rishis*.

The *Rishi* means by it that none can know the mystery which surrounds him. Intellectually, man is helpless, for the President Himself finds the intellectual mystery too deep to be fathomed. This language among the devout and pious is common. It involves the use of what is called *Kaimutikanyâya*. The intellectual feebleness and inability cannot be better described. "He who is the President of the seen and who dwells in the highest Heaven even knows it or knows it not." The direct statement—that he knows it not—is not made. But the subjective doubt is expressed and the question is suggested—in view of this fact, what is man?

His intellect embarrassed, mind aghast,
Power of conception baffled at the last,
Humiliated now he helpless feels.
Yes! beaten, wildered, baffled, fancy reels.
Yet onward man a flight unchecked can take,
And spiritual progress infinite doth make ;[1]
No mystery and no darkness him surround,[2]
And perfect light discloses paths around.
The *truthful mind* aspiring feels its sway;
Though downward drags the *evil* all the way.[3]
The *evil mind* at first so deadly seems,
That fraught with sin, it chokes all spiritual streams.[4]
Its tricks beguile: its offers falsely bright.[5]
Temptations fascinate,—delusive light,[6]
To falsehood prone, deceives the *evil mind*,[7]
And seeks such means as fancy charm and blind.[8]
The *purer mind* creates a purer light, [9]
Checks evil turns, enlightens tempting night,[10]
Condemns the false, approves the true and guides.[11]
All pleasant sins desired it shuns besides.
Thus these *two minds* maintain a constant strife ; [12]
The true, the spiritual soul attains to life ; [13]
Always affording godly knowledge pure.
Temptations, transient pleasures, falsely lure.[14]
The *evil one* is checked in evil deeds,
Its joy so transient, pain unending breeds.

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1 *Vide* (VI. 9, 5.). 2 *Vide* (I. 164, 4.).

3 *Vide* (III. 14, 7.) ; (III. 15, 6.), and (X. 71, 6.).

4 *Vide* (III. 55, 3.). The whole hymn emphatically states:—"Mahat devânâm asuratvam ekam" on which the hymn in this poem ending in "all glory one" is based.

5 *Vide* (III. 20, 3.). 6 *Vide* (II. 24, 6.).

7 *Vide* (VII. 104, 12.). 8 *Vide* (III. 56, 1.).

9 *Vide* VII. 35, 2.), and (III. 1, 21.). 10 *Vide* (IV. 17, 13.).

11 *Vide* (X. 100, 7.). 12 *Vide* (VII. 104, 12.).

13 *Vide* (VI. 1, 10.). 14 *Vide* (VII, 1, 22.).

All lusts panoramic scene display—
Brittle, delusive dolls of varnished clay.
Patience to truth devoted onward goes,[1]
And e'er unchecked eternal pleasure sows.
The evil passions kindle flames of ire,
Oh! mightier than a conflagration dire,
Devouring forests vast, destroying all,
Building a high gigantic smoky wall,
And hiding all in shades the starry heights; [2]
(Spectators piteous eye the ruined sights)
Thus flames of irritation burn the mind,
And nothing but its ruins leave behind.
The *pious mind* produces peace profound,[3]
Surpassing Ganges spreading charms around,[4]
And fertilizing soils along its course,—
Of long and happy life a fruitful source.
The *evil mind* produces envy dread[5]
And chokes of happy peace the fountain-head.
The *purer mind* breeds sympathy for man;
No matter what is caste, his tribe or clan.[6]
Thus feelings godly and satanic jar,[7]
As these or those succeed, peace nigh, or far.
This contest not confined to human mind,
Sins inward raging dread expression find.
The *evil mind* incarnate Dâsas show,—
Of faith devoid, not sacrificing, low.[8]

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1 *Vide* (VII. 6, 6.).

2 *Vide* (I. 58, 4-5). 3 *Vide* (I. 89, 6.).

4 *Vide* (VII. 95 and 96.). These hymns are devoted to Saraswati.

5 *Vide* (III. 14, 6.).

6 The five tribes are mentioned as constituting the Âryas, among whom no caste existed during the *Rishi*-period.

7 *Vide* (XIX. 9, 14.) of the Atharva-Veda-Sanhitâ which presents the same idea in its developed form.

8 *Vide* (VII. 6, 3.), and (I. 117, 21.).

The *purer mind* incarnate—Âryas pure—
Whom fleshly lower passions little lure.[1]
A magnanimity derived from God
And charity the Âryas show abroad.[2]
Âryas and Dâsas strikingly contrast,—
A gulf between the two, a distance vast,
As incompatible as night and day,
Indra, our guide,[3] while Vritra leads astray.[4]
Indra, our God [5] and Dâsas Vritra leads; [6]
God's grace we seek;[7] they pant for evil deeds.
Its happiness our life to *tapa* owes;
By grace divine the moral *tapa* grows.
The essence of a sacrificial rite—
To think, to feel, to say and do the right.
Thoughts right and charitable facts create,
And feelings right self-sacrifice dictate.
Right speech expresses all the inner thought;[8]
Right acts the inner sanctions seal untaught.
This is *tapa*—the form of sacrifice,[9]
The fruitful source of godly actions wise.[10]
Tapa—primeval sacrifice divine,
Tapa the ways of duty strict assign,
Tapa, the motive power first and great,
Tapa sustains the sky and earth in state,[11]

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1 *Vide* (I. 182, 3.), and (II. 11, 18.).

2 *Vide* (I. 55, 5.); (I. 59, 2.); and (VII. 99, 4.).

3 *Vide* (X. 160, 3.). 4 *Vide* (II. 11, 18-19.).

5 *Vide* (X. 45, 10.), and (II. 11, 18.).

6 *Vide* (VI. 24, 8.). Notice the word "(Dasyujûtâya.)."

7 *Vide* (X. 39, 3.).

8 The definition of Tapas as given here is based on (X. 190, 1.), and is confirmed by the dicta in the first chapter of Shatapatha.

9 *Vide* (IX. 113, 2.). "Ritavâkena satyena shraddhayâ tapasâ." These words are very important.

10 *Vide* (X. 167, 1.). Indra conquered Heaven by tapas.

11 *Vide* (X. 85, 1.). Interesting facts as to the notions of *tapas* entertained by the *Rishis* can be collected from the *Rik*-Sanhitâ. We have culled, we believe, the most salient ones.

Tapa our will with purity imbues,
Our conscience and its power *Tapa* renews;
Guided by Indra, let us seek the just,
Depend on grace divine, and clean the rust
With which our souls the *evil mind* encrusts.
As every Âryа true in Indra trusts;
As every Âryа seeks the righteous way,
By which our ancestors have gone away
To the heavenly seats where joy eternal smiles,[1]
Both of pure hearts and minds devoid of wiles."

The lecture ends, the audience humbly bow,
Affected deep at heart they make a vow
Of righteous life obeying the dictate
Of conscience thrilled by touching words of weight.
The warriors stood up breathing valour great.
The pupils full of innocence await
A future bright with aspirations fraught;
Their feelings roused ennobling *tapa* sought.
Now moved by charity the guests desire
Self-sacrifice, and thus obey the sire.
The heart of warrior-Gotam largely swelled,
Resolves of *tapa* austere inward welled.
The damsel touched no painter e'er portrayed:
Such light of love upon her features played.
The aged lady drinks the accents sweet,
Soft gravity and love her features greet.
Observing what effect his lecture made,
The sire his thoughts in prayerful hymns arrayed:—

"O, God! our Lord! to thee we pray:[2]
Raise Âryas, grant them grace.[3]
We humbly ask of light a ray,[4]
That Âryas may embrace

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[1] *Vide* (X. 14, 6-7.) and the last but one hymn of the ninth Mandala throws sufficient light on the Âryan views of Heaven.

[2] *Vide* (II. 21, 6.).

[3] *Vide* (VI. 1, 12.).

[4] *Vide* (X. 156, 5.).

Strict vows of *tapa*-sacrifice ;
Let them to righteous valour rise,[1]
In thee trust let them place.[2]
Our God, our Father, Mother sweet,[3]
For friendly aid our Lord we greet."[4]

" Grant worldly power and worldly wealth,[5]
Give to our foes no place.[6]
Let us enjoy our days in health.[7]
Diseases all efface ;[8]
Their ships triumphant in the world,[9]
And flags of glory high unfurled,[10]
Their foes let Âryas chase.
Our God, our Father, Mother sweet,
For friendly aid our Lord we greet."

The *Rishi* sat absorbed, his pupils deft
Knowledge pursued, and guests rejoicing left.

All accident reject, and essence take;
Pure essence modes and forms can never make.
The essential godly truth the *Rishi* knew—
Loved, prayed, believed, enjoyed the just and true,—
Above all fleshly worldly feelings soared,
And sought what worldly comforts Indra poured.
Nature admired, he rose to Nature's King.
To God he prayed and praising him would sing.

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1 *Vide* (I. 55, 6-7.).
2 *Vide* (II. 12, 5.), and (I. 103, 5.).
3 *Vide* (VI. 1, 5.), and (V. 15, 4.).
4 Indra is often called Sakhâ.
5 *Vide* (VI. 49, 15.).
6 *Vide* (X. 155, 4.).
7 *Vide* (VII. 11, 2.).
8 *Vide* (X. 163.).
9 *Vide* (X. 135, 4.), (V. 4, 9.), and (I. 25, 7.).
10 *Vide* (VII. 85, 2.), and (X. 103, 11.).

CHAPTER III.

PROSPERITY OF THE ÂRYAS— BRAHMAVÂDINS.

Importance of sacrificial literature.—A sacrifice and its analysis.—The Sthâlîpâka and the Darsha-Pûrṇa-mâsa contrasted: an explanation offered.—The social influence of Sacrifices.—The period of Brahmavâdins—a period of prosperity.—The country and the tribes.—The action of the system of Sacrifices on the Âryan community.—General condition of society.—The Brâhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shûdras, how characterized in the literature of the times.—The influence of the Brâhmaṇas.—Theology of the period.—The literature of the period.—The state of philosophy.—A legend of sacrifice with remarks.—The power of the Purohitas or the chaplains.—Historical bearing of the revolution.

EXTRACTS FROM THE AITAREYA-BRÂHMANA.

(Râma said) "I know it from the fact, that Indra had been excluded by the gods (from having any share in the sacrifices). For he had scorned Visvarûpa, the son of Tva*stri*, cast down V*ri*tra (and killed him), thrown pious men (*yatis*) before the jackals (or wolves) and killed the *Arurmaghas*, and rebuked (his teacher) B*ri*haspati. On account of these faults Indra was forthwith excluded from participation in the Soma beverage. And after Indra had been excluded in this way from the Soma, all the Ksatriyas (at whose head he is) were likewise excluded from it. But he was allowed a share in it afterwards, having stolen the Soma from Tva*stri*. But the Ksatriya race remains excluded from the Soma beverage to this day." * * * *

* * "Thy progeny will be distinguished by the characteristics of the Brâhma*na*; for they will be ready to take gifts, thirsty after drinking (Soma), and hungry of eating food, and ready to roam about everywhere according to their pleasure." * *

* * "Thy offspring will be born with the characteristics of the Vaishyas, paying taxes to another king, to be enjoyed by another; they will be oppressed according to the pleasure of the king." * * *

* * "Thy progeny will have the characteristics of the Shûdras, they are to serve another (the three higher castes) to be expelled and beaten according to the pleasure (of their masters.)"—*Dr. Martin Haug's Translation of the Aitareya-Brâhmana,* (*pages* 484 *to* 486).

CHAPTER III.

PROSPERITY OF THE ÂRYAS—BRAHMAVÂDINS.

Importance of sacrificial literature.

THE historical importance of this period is great, for it embodies information of the social and domestic practices of the Âryas after they occupied the fertile valleys of the Panjab, of Sindha, and tracts about the foot of the Himâlayas, and discovers the folklore, the manners, the philosophical discussions and literature of a nation which had achieved, by dint of its prowess and perseverance, settlements among tribes and races opposed to it. It solves the problem of the influence of prosperity on a progressive people—progressive because two facts were developed among the Âryas during this period—the one, the consolidation of the Vedic polity, and the other, the establishment of the supremacy of the literary classes (for the Brâhmaṇas were as yet merely the educated Âryas): castes not being stereotyped. We have shewn in the last chapter how the Âryas succeeded in overcoming their enemies in the Panjab, and how they colonized it. Now they found themselves in posses-

sion of boundless tracts of fertile soil irrigated by gigantic streams. The valleys of the Ganges and Jamna lay before them yet to be colonized. The barbarous tribes of the Dasyus were now at their feet. The prestige of the Âryas was completely established: their institutions and manners were admired, and some attempted to imitate them. A dictum for the incorporation of the Shûdras among the Âryas was promulgated. The Shûdras accepted the duties imposed upon them, and never rose against their lords though circumstances gradually improved their social status. The contrast between the barbarians who had been subdued, and the Âryas who had conquered and triumphed over them, necessarily brought into relief the virtues, the abilites, and the beauty of the Âryas, and impressed them with the conviction that their social and domestic institutions were essentially superior. They possessed cattle in abundance: the Soma even of Mûjavat hills could be procured in any quantity: their lands produced every variety of corn. Timber of different kinds could be had easily. An energetic nationality found itself placed in such circumstances. Now the question is—what would it do? The many-sided modern civilization with its manufacturing, commercial, and political activities makes it rather hard to realize the condition of the Âryas, their aspirations, and their occupations. The ancient Âryas tilled the soil merely to supply their wants and the means of luxury. The manufactures were simple, for their wants were simple. The trade which could engage them might be confined only to the purchase of clothing. The Vaishyas plied their

trades; but the Ksatriyas necessarily developed into princes who had retinues. Their palaces became the seats of political influence. Their patronage was eagerly sought by the educated Brâhmanas. The processions about their castles, and their crowns adorned with jewels, inspired the barbarians with awe, and produced the feelings of gratulation and self-complacency in the Âryas. The Ârya who had succeeded in obtaining the Brâhma-varchasa was respected highly in society. Every Ârya aspired after it: a few only accomplished it. Brahmavâdins, who were the legislators of the Âryas, discussed sacrificial questions and regulated society. All social and domestic institutions of a nation are, during one period, under the influence of one idea. At present the minister of religion, the statesman, the merchant, or the soldier in England, insists upon what he says or does as being *practical*,—a mode of thought which is applied to theology and metaphysics—subjects least susceptible of being rendered practical. What is not practical is considered by Englishmen to be absurd and unworthy of attention. For some time the propagation of the dogmas of religion as taught by Goutama Buddha, inspired and moved the masses of the people in India. In like manner, the institution in which the Âryan energy of this period centred, was a sacrifice. Its performance involved philosophy, literature, trade and commerce, manufactures, military prowess, and the cultivation of the soil. It is the form of the Âryan society of this period. Naturally and necessarily great attention was paid to the performance of sacrifices, as

they engaged their energies and gratified their minds. Prosperity contributed to this result. Hence the hypothesis—that the Âryas at the time of the Brahmavâdins had degenerated, and that this degeneracy can be explained by some strange political revolution and social convulsion—is hardly correct. At the time of the *Rishis*, the action of a particular cause awakened the minds and inspired their feelings: the Âryas could not but energize. The cause was the incessant struggle with the aborigines, who used every trick in their power to annoy and inconvenience the foreigners. The cause ceased to operate. The effect gradually ceased to be produced. The Mahomedans came from Iran into India just as the ancient Âryas did. They had to encounter nationalities more advanced in civilization than themselves. They fought, and like the ancient Âryas, settled permanently in the land they had acquired by right of conquest. A spirit of enjoyments and luxuries possessed them as soon as they found the means. This progress or retrogression is natural. The history of every nation bears testimony to it. To sum up, the importance of the sacrificial literature, considered from any of these points of view, is great. Though because of its complexity and mystery, it is condemned, and its uselessness even in connection with the annals of ancient India, is insisted on; yet it appears to us to deserve special attention from every historian of the ancient Âryas.

A sacrifice and its analysis.

When one has gone carefully through the multitudinous sacrifices, as they are prescribed in the

Shrouta-Sûtras of the different systems, and compared them,—a task which cannot be accomplished without great expenditure, patience and labour—he is able to give the analysis of the formal sacrifices. The first and the most ancient sacrifices are called Pâka-yajnas. The signification of the word Pâka has already elicited much discussion which does not shrink from bold conjectures. Yet our conviction is that our commentators are right. The term *Pâka* means "small." When the big sacrifices on the principles of the Shrouta-system began to be performed, the regular sacrifices came to be called "small." The term Pâka is one of those words which the Âryas used before their separation. It is used in the *Rik*-Sanhitâ in the same sense.[1] It is identical with Latin *Paucus*. Every day in the evening and morning, offerings were made into the fire, the great tutelary god of the family. But all the months of the year could not be without events at least important to an agriculturist. The Pâka-sacrifices are the simplest in form. The sacrificer, his wife, and one priest only, operated. It is significant that the first priest was Brahmâ. The Sthâlî-pâka required only one hearth called *Grihyâgni-kunda*. It is performed on every new and full moon day. The tools are simplest and such as are used by a family every day at the stove

[1] (I. 164, 5.). The verse is important. H. H. Wilson thus translates it:—"Immature (in understanding), undiscerning in mind, I enquire of those things which are hidden (even) from the gods: (what are) the seven threads which the sages have spread to envelope the sun, in whom all abide"? *Pâka* is "immature"—The whole hymn deserves attention.

—a poor husbandman's family—a simple piston[1] and mortar, fuel and darbha-grass, a vessel for keeping water, a vessel for cooking rice in, a pan, three spoons and ladles, and a small vessel for ghee or clarified butter, a winnowing fan, and a deer-skin. Even at the present day, most husbandmen in India do not possess even so many cooking utensils. About the month of August (Shrâvaṇa), the agriculturist has every reason to rejoice, because nature assumes a lovely form. The plants put forth new leaves: the grass-knolls are green: the new foliage of trees enlivens birds: and their music cheers peasants. At this time specially, the Shravaṇâ-karma-sacrifice was performed by the ancient Âryas. The Brahmâ helped the sacrificer and his wife in it. A cake (Puroḍâsha) baked on one potsherd (kapâla) was prepared, and the whole being besmeared with ghee was offered into the fire. But the agriculturist was susceptible of fear. In his fields, he was often exposed to danger from poisonous serpents. He believed that they could be propitiated. Once in four months that he had to work in his field, he made offerings to the serpents; and his fear and his anxiety for the different members of his united family were so great that his sons and cousins were mentioned by name, when an offering was made. Even now about the month of August (Shrâvaṇa) offerings are made by the Hindus to serpents. In the month of October

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[1] Ulûkhala, musala, samidh, barhis, praṇîtâpâtra, sthâlî, iḍâpâtrî, or prokṣaṇi, sruch and sruva, âjya-pâtra, shûrpa, kṛiṣṇâjina,—most of these are mentioned in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ in connection with a sacrifice.

a sacrifice called Ashvayujî was performed. It was about the end of the rainy season. This time of the year is even now celebrated as a holiday. When the rainy season ceases, it is a time of festivity for two reasons:—the husbandman obtains leisure and the means of comfort. He has every reason to be cheerful. He has a plentiful harvest before him. Nature is clothed in the gayest of her attires. Small streams meander about his pleasant field. The peasants turned out their horses, and believed that the Ashvins in the bright heavens set them an example, and the tutelary god of cattle was prayed to. The harvest was reaped. The first fruits were gathered. The joy which a husbandman's family feels on such an occasion can be better conceived than described: the children jump for joy: the calves and kids frisk about: the wife of the husbandman is cheerful, and blithely performs her domestic duties. The lord of the simple family is surrounded by his grown-up sons and cousins. The stories of the rain coming in season, or of a parrot being caught with a fruit in his bill, are told. The adventures either in quest of game or in chasing off a wild hog from the field are narrated. The house is cleaned and embellished. This festival is called Pratyavarohaṇa. A plentiful dinner of dishes prepared exclusively of new corn, new fruits, and new vegetables, is about to be served. The united family of the patriarch sits down to dine. About this time, the Âgrayaṇa-sacrifice is performed. But the great patriarchs already dead could not be forgotten. Their short sayings and singularities of conduct are carefully remembered. A daughter

much attached to her father sheds a tear which springs from real devotion. In one sense, the dead live, for their deeds are remembered. A husbandman proudly points to a tree whose shadow shelters him from the sun, and whose fruits refresh as well as nourish him, with the remark that it was planted by his grand-father. His father had already narrated to him the difficulties with which the young tree was procured. The tree survived its planter and his son. But about its branches, hang all the tales of their deeds and the memory of their sayings. On two occasions in the year, sacrifices were performed by the ancient Âryas in honour of the dead. Thus we have described the simple domestic daily oblations, the fortnightly Sthâlî-pâka, and the seven Grihya-Sansthâs: 1. the Shravanâ-karma. 2. the Sarpa-bali. 3. the Ashvayujî. 4. Âgrayana. 5. Pratyavarohana. 6. Pinda-Pitriyajna. 7. Anvastakâ. Yet the spring was a special time of rejoicing. The festival was important. The pleasant time of the year, when the trees blossom, and the tender new leaves of the plants heighten the beauty of a forest, was celebrated in a suitable form, far from the peasant home. An ox was killed, and a sacrifice called Shûla-gava was performed. The enjoyment was expensive, and some families or rather clans omitted it. The sacrifice is fully described by Âshvalâyana in his Grihya-Sûtra; but it is mentioned in glowing terms as an important ancient custom in the Rik-Sanhitâ (1. 164, 43.). In the Sthâlî-pâka originated the Darsha-Pûrna-mâsa-sacrifice, the form or the model of all Isti-sacrifices. The Shûla-gava was the germ of the Nirûdha-pashu

—the form or the model of animal sacrifices. The Agnistoma-sacrifice is the form or model of all the Soma-sacrifices. The ancient Âryas, before they crossed the Indus, had attached great importance to a Soma drink. But when it could not be easily procured, it was sanctified and deified during the *Ri*si-period.

The Sthâlî-pâka and the Darsha-Pûrna-mâsa contrasted: an explanation offered.

The Darsha-Pûrna-mâsa-sacrifice performed by every gentleman of the Vedic period is important, as the greater portion of every sacrifice whether simple or complex is regulated by it. A big sacrifice is only a series of small sacrifices (Istis). When a complex sacrifice like the Agnistoma is minutely examined and analysed, it is found to consist of the Istis or sacrifices on the model of the Darsha-Pûrna-mâsa-sacrifice,—the consecration and preparation of the animal, special preparation and oblations of its flesh, and fat, and oblations of Soma-juice. But when an animal is added to the new or full moon sacrifice, a sacrificial compound is also added with its Uttara-Vedi or the latter altar. The latter altar is so called from its either later development or the later performance of the sacrifice itself. The Uttara-Vedi cannot be built in the house of the sacrificer, but somewhere out of it. In this respect, the original nature of the Shûla-gava-sacrifice is represented by a regular animal sacrifice of the Bramhavâdins. But there was only one priest, the Brahmâ, in the ancient sacrifices. In the new or full moon sacrifices the Brahmâ is no longer an officiating priest: his

position and duties are changed: he is the general superintendent of the sacrifice. The principal officiating priest is the Adhvaryu. The function of invoking gods and dwelling upon their special individual attributes is also developed, and requires a separate priest who is called Hotâ. A new department is added—a musician or Udgâtâ sings at intervals. In the Sthâlî-pâka-sacrifice, the sacrificial utensils, though consecrated at the time, did not require the utterance of any special formulæ. They were quietly taken up, and set apart as sacred. In the new or full moon sacrifice, the consecration of the sacrificial utensils is made by means of special formulæ. In the Sthâlî-pâka-sacrifice, only one hearth or Kunda was used. In the new or full moon sacrifice, two fire-places or Kundas are added. The new or full moon sacrifice is thus distinct, though only an enlargement of the Sthâlî-pâka-sacrifice. This enlargement can be explained by such light as the more complex sacrifices can throw on the subject. In the Sattra-sacrifice in which all the sixteen priests are sacrificers and priests at the same time, sixteen fires are united—an act which represents the union of all the priests or sacrificers. In the Agnistoma-sacrifice, the Saptahotâs have their distinctive fire-places. When the functions of invoking gods and dwelling on their individual attributes, or of repeating without any *lapsus* the formulæ for the consecration of sacrificial utensils, or of singing different songs at the different stages of a sacrifice, could not be discharged by one priest—the Brahmâ,[1]

[1] All this description is based on the Âshvalâyana Grihya-Sûtra. The six Sansthâs have already been compared with the six

new priests were necessarily added: the Hotâ invoked the gods: the Adhvaryu pronounced the formulæ of consecration, and the Udgâtâ sang as the stages of the sacrifice required. But this union of the priests was symbolized by the addition of new fire-places. This is not a mere hypothesis. This view of the addition of fire-places is suggested by a legend in the Aitareya-Brâhmana. Prajâpati created the universe consisting of the three worlds—the earth, the firmament, and the heavens—the three great luminaries—Agni on the earth, the air in the firmament, and the sun in the heavens. From these, the three Vedas were produced, and the functions of the three priests were based on the three Vedas. But the Gârhapatya-fire-place was allotted in one sense to the Hotâ, the Daksinâgni-fire-place belonged to the Adhvaryu, and the Âhavanîya-fire-place was given to the Udgâtâ. The section (V. 32.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana supports this view. The addition of new Mantras and their accommodation in sacrifices is discussed at considerable length in the Aitareya-Brâhmana itself. Bulila was prevented from adding a Mantra. The story of Bulila[1] is important in this

Gâhânbârs of the Mazdayasnians. *Vide* (I.) Vispered. 1. Maidhyô-zaremaya is Madhya-Hiranya or Harit—a sacrifice of milk, indicating verdure or acquisition of gold. 2. Maidhyôshema is Madhya-Ksamâ—the sacrifice for pastures. Ksamâ is derived from ksi to dwell. Ksaya is a house, Ksema—the prosperity as that of a house. Paiti-bahya is Prati-sasya— indicating, or towards, corn—Âgrayana as described above. 4. Ayâthrema is Ayâtram—not moving, stability or strength. 5. Maidhyâirya is Madhya-airya. Airya is the year or varsa—the rain-water. 6. Hamaçpat-maêdhaya is Shashvat-Medhya or good knowledge or works of the year. These six rites deserve a close examination.

1 *Vide* Aitareya-Brâhmana (VI. 30.). Bulila repeated certain Mantras when he was a Hotâ at a certain sacrifice. But Goushla,

connection. Thus it is seen that the development of the forms of invocation, the new description of the attributes of gods, new formulæ of consecration, and developed music, led to the enlargement and modification of the primeval sacrifice of the Sthâlî-pâka. But the question still arises—why should this be enlarged and developed? The forms of invocation and the formulæ of consecration constituted the literature of the times. The gods of rain, of clouds, the sun, the moon, the wind, and the different constellations as they regulated the destiny of the ancient Âryas, were invoked with fresh enthusiasm by poets from generation to generation. Each poet or bard[1] went about from place to place singing of the greatness of his god, of his special mercy, of his beauty, of his appearance, and of his connection with other gods. The successors of such bards repeated the Gâthâs even during the period of the Brahmavâdins. A new impulse was given to the composition of poetry and to the music of bards, when the Âryas, impelled by an onward movement necessitated by social and economical conditions, left their

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a Shrotriya, discussed him out of his position. The discussion shows to what the Âryas attached importance at this time.

[1] *Vide* for instance, (V. 3.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana. The translation of Dr. Martin Haug is not faithful. "Well, food is Nyûnkha, because bards delighting in music, wander (about), then food is produced." The same is done by Haug thus:—"Because the Nyûnkha (produces) is food, for the singers seeking a livehood (?) wander about in order to make food grow (by their singing for rain)." Now we give the original:—"Annam vai nyûñkho yad elavâ abhigeṣ*m*âshcharantyathânnâdyam prajâyate." The gist of the passage is:—bards go about when the harvest in the country is reaped.

homes in Central Asia, passed through the valley of the Cabul, and cast a glance on the immense plains of the Indus and the Ganges, bounded on the one side by the stupendous Himâlayas, hoary with the snow of ages, and limited on the other sides by deserts or by the sea. Such a change of circumstances cannot but awaken the intellect, rouse the feelings, create enthusiasm, and produce high aspirations, which cannot but be embodied in the utterances of poets. The intellectual efforts were sustained and continued by the incessant struggle of the Âryas with the aborigines for securing a footing in the land of conquest. In the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, the four-fold division of priests is sufficiently indicated, (Jnâna-Sûkta).

The social influence of Sacrifices.

The Brahmavâdins exerted a great influence on all the Âryan families, whether of the Brâhma*n*as, Ksatriyas, or of the Vaishyas, by means of the sacrifices which every Ârya aspired after performing. The sacrifices brought him fame, gave him a social position, removed the cause of such fears as naturally haunt every individual, and produced a feeling of self-satisfaction in all the members of a family whom to flatter and to exalt was one of the functions of the sacrifice. The accomplishment of the different desires was positively promised. The nation believed in the power of spells and magic; and sacrificers employed them against their enemies. A sword was used and sometimes brandished in the course of the sacrifice. In the fashion of husbandmen, the sacrificial fuel and Darbha-

grass were brought home from a wilderness before the sacrifice was performed. The gods were appeased. But the social influence of a sacrifice is specially to be noticed. It is not every one that could sacrifice. A certain social status was indispensable, though its agricultural character was maintained. The sacrificer ought to possess at least six cows before he could pretend to bring a Soma-sacrifice.[1] The operations—of sending off the cows to the pasturage, of arranging them before they were milked, of tying the calves to their pegs, of milking the cows and of disposing of the milk in the fashion of dairy-maids,—are still performed with punctilious care by a modern gentleman who cannot understand them, though he is impressed with a sense of mystery. In the animal-sacrifice, the agricultural and the domestic operations for the preparation of a Purodâsha in the fashion of a house-wife are retained. But social progress is shewn. A Yûpa or a shaft of timber is added. Its preparation requires some knowledge of carpentry. Thus Shilpas or arts are added.[2] But a perfect gentleman of the modern times is represented in the Soma-sacrifice, though the agriculturist and the simple artist are not forgotten. The prince—*Soma*—visits the house of the sacrificer. He is received as a distinguished

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[1] This was a necessary qualification even during the period of invasion. But then there were many ways of acquiring distinction, such as valour or exploration. Now there was almost only one—the performance of a sacrifice and exhibition of one's power.

[2] The Shilpas are often mentioned and commended in the Brâhmaṇa-literature.

guest. His rank impresses the sacrificer, his family, and his friends. This is a characteristic sacrifice of this period. Brahmanaspati represents the Brahma or the power of knowledge, and of course, the power of the Brâhmanas or priests. *Soma* represents the Ksatra or the power of war, and of course, the power of the warriors. Thus the leader of the warriors, the great king, visits the representatives of knowledge, and hospitality is shewn to him. Whatever the power of the Brâhmanas or priests, or of Vaishyas or merchants may be, they must look up to a court for distinction in society. The Soma-sacrifice symbolizes the magnificence of a princely visit. The influence of an institution can be easily estimated by the power it exercises over the language, literature, philosophy, manners, and customs of a nation. The influence of sacrifices was great, because they were the direct means of reputation; and no element in human nature is more powerful than the desire of public approbation. The means of the sacrificer were known to the community: his generosity was published: his gold and silver plates were exhibited. Thus vanity conduced to the development of sacrificial institutions. The sacrificer often in the course of his sacrifice made strong declarations against his enemy. This was a kind of public speech perhaps made in reply to some one. The wife and the grown-up sons of the lord of an united family had an ample opportunity of showing themselves off. The first had to co-operate with her husband,—the lord and patriarch of the little community. When more than one wife lived under the same roof, the conscious importance and declared

superiority of the one allowed to participate in the sacrifice, could be easily imagined. On particular occasions, the sons were mentioned by name. As many small sacrifices as can correspond to the desires of man, are described in the literature of the period. The nation believed in their efficacy, and the priests performed them. If male issue failed, the son-sacrifice[1] was performed. If poverty threatened, the wealth-sacrifice was performed. If an opponent annoyed a gentleman, a defeat-sacrifice was performed. These small sacrifices are too many to be mentioned. Heaven[2] or happiness was secured by a big-sacrifice, and heaven is naturally sought by man. Some expensive sacrifices lasting for days and directly leading the sacrificer to heaven elicited much interest. The Brâhmaṇa aspired after the power of knowledge, and performed some sacrifice for accomplishing his object, though he took great care not to neglect the means. The Kṣatriya performed such sacrifices as brought much wealth to Brâhmaṇas. His riches, his generous simplicity, his impulsive credulity, his inordinate desire for military distinction, the extension of his dominions, and his propensity to carnal indulgences,—all these developed interesting phases in social institutions. Music entertained the sacrificer and his followers. Soma was abundantly prepared. The beverage was sought by the priests with avidity. And animal food was distributed with care to all connected with a sacrifice. The priests directed the warriors in sacrifices, and the warriors

[1] These sacrifices are described under the head of Kâmyeṣṭi in the Taittirîya-Saṅhitâ and Brâhmaṇa.

[2] See the Appendix.

enriched the priests. The one displayed impulsive bravery and courage in a battle-field: the other gradually possessed the power of direction, of scheming, of practical application of means to an end. In the contact of the warrior and the priest at the time of sacrifices, lay the germ of a great revolution. The permanent settlement in the country conquered by their ancestors, the subjugation of the barbarous races, the reduction to slavery of such as fast succumbed to the demonstrative and self-asserting power of the Âryas, the fertility of the soil, the forests in which every variety of game abounded, cheerful nature and beneficent gods of the days of prosperity—all these contributed to the preponderance of the sacrificial institutions, and the sacrificial institutions were fraught with serious consequences to the Âryan society of this period.

The period of Brahmavâdins—a period of prosperity.

They considered this world to be happy—a feeling which general prosperity alone can engender.[1] The predominant feature of the national aspirations was the sense of having already accomplished a great feat and worked out their destiny. The nation now felt that it was endowed with great powers. The beverage—Soma—was exalted into a prince, whose advent was a great

1 *Vide* (I. 13.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa, which comments on a Mantra of the Taittiriya-Sanhitâ. This is a proof that the Taittiriya-Sanhitâ existed prior to the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. This earth is called Bhadra. This world is superior (Shreyân).

occasion of rejoicing. Attempts made by the whole nation at new acquisitions are not discernible in the literature of the period; but the fear of losing what they had already acquired often overpowered their minds. The formula,—"He who knows this has a firm footing here," is often repeated. It is the refrain, the burden of the whole Aitareya-Brâhmana. Even in modern times, a prosperous nation, once enterprising, spirited and adventurous, but now surfeited with wealth, forgets its traditions, ignores its treaties, and adopts for its motto the formula, "peace at any price." The ancient Âryas during this period prayed to their gods not to grant them a victory over their enemies, but to give them a firm footing,[1] that is, to continue their prosperity. Thus their gods also participated in this national feeling they rested.[2] The gods of the Âryan invaders were restless, communicative, and enterprising. The gods of the Brahmavâdins desired rest and sought to conceal their intentions from man.[3] This life with its pleasures is so important that it is put into the Pravargya-vessels.[4] The social institutions which flattered the national ideas were declared to be prevalent among gods themselves. The gods of this

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1 "Te kṣemayogou kalpayanti," *i.e.*, "they devise or contrive stability and consolidation." *Vide* (I. 14.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

2 "The gods (felt) that they had accomplished the Âtithyeṣṭi by completing the eating of Ilâ." *Vide* (I. 17.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana. The gods rested there.

3 *Vide* the saying "Parokṣa-priyâ vai devâs," often repeated in the Brâhmana-literature.

4 *Vide* (I. 20.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

period were divided into castes.[1] The gods of the Âryan invaders were above such a feeling. Sacrificial processes are interpreted by means of the idea of caste. The superiority of the conquerors suggests the idea: their vanity develops it: prosperity establishes it. At present the Europeans in India cannot but form the highest caste. At the time of the Brahmavâdins, caste was insisted on. The conquering Âryas recognized it as the badge of their social, religious, and political supremacy. Even the office of procuring Soma, and selling it, was considered as sinful.[2] The Âryans were elated by their triumph over the aborigines, and their sense of superiority and self-satisfaction betrays itself in their utterances. Objects of this life were sought with great avidity. The Kâmyestis or sacrifices for them were frequently performed. Gold and silver were abundantly used.[3] The kings and their retinues marching in gorgeous processions were the order of the day.[4] Conquests already

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1 According to the Vâjasaneyins, the gods are divided into four castes :—Agni and Bṛihaspati are Brâhmaṇas ; Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, the Rudras, Parjanya, Yama Mṛityu are the Kṣatriyas ; the Vasus, the Rudras, the Âdityas, Vishvedevas and Maruts are the Vaishas ; Pûṣan is a Shûdra. *Vide* (I. 9.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa and the commentary of Sâyaṇa.

2 Throughout the Brâhmaṇa-literature, the feeling of caste is boastfully exhibited. "Pâpo hi Soma-vikrayî"—"a seller of Soma is a sinner," *Vide* (I. 12.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. *Vide* for instance, the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa (III. 7, 6, 6.).—The three castes are only mentioned. The Shûdra is excluded.

3 *Vide* (I. 23.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

4 "Indra ran the race in a carriage drawn by horses, a great noise is a characteristic mark of the Kṣatra which is of Indra," see (IV.

made, and the triumphs already achieved, are spoken of with feelings of confidence.[1] Fine women beautifully clad and decked with jewels displayed their charms.[2] Decorations were lavished upon little things of common life.[3] A great man could not be directly spoken to: a request had to be made carefully, and much time was wasted before a great man could be approached.[4] Because the aborigines had submitted, and because it was a period of peace and prosperity, the natural propensity of bragging was freely indulged in. The Kṣatriyas often declared that they could repel any attack upon them;[5] and that none could defy their powers. Silver carriages rattled away.[6] Life was

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9.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. For the gilded cloth over the elephant and for dresses, gold, jewels, see (VI. 27.) and (IV. 6.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

1 Throughout the Brâhmaṇa-literature, stories of conflicts between Devas and Asuras are narrated—conflicts which invariably terminate in the triumph of the former. These stories show the feelings of triumph and self-complacency with which they are told.

2 *Vide* (I. 29.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. In all the Iṣṭi-prayogas the wives are described as showing themselves off.

3 *Vide* (VII. 18.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

4 *Vide* (II. 7.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa—A haughty man is mentioned. "*Unmattah*, and *driptah*" are used in the original. *Unmattah* is translated into a drunkard by Haug; but he is one intoxicated with his prosperity. It is not, or seldom, used in its etymological sense in the ancient Sanskrit literature. He is called Madyapî or Surâpî. Among the five great sins enumerated by Yâska, he mentions Surâpânam and not Unmâdah. *Vide* (VI. 27.) of the Nirukta.

5 *Vide* the last lines of (III. 41.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. "The sacrificer enjoys the Kṣatra, the valour, and the power (of repelling an attack.)"

6 *Vide* (VII. 18.) of the same.

enjoyed. A variety of dishes and drinks was prepared.[1] The essences of milk were chiefly appreciated. A gentleman married more than one wife.[2] A rich man took many wives. Great men sitting in the lap of fortune are mentioned.[3] But there is one feeling which strongly contrasts with the feeling of those Âryas who adventurously worked their way to India, who were exposed to great dangers in their march, and who, when defeated by their opponents, mustered courage, and poured out their hearts before Agni and Indra, asking them to aid them in their trials, and expressing penitence for their doings. The Âryan invaders considered themselves to be the companions of their cattle, which are always mentioned in their prayers to their gods. The cattle and their own children are invariably associated with all that they cherished most in their songs. They believed that man and animals were equally entitled to all that nature produced. They were co-heirs.[4] Prosperity destroyed this feeling. Brahmavâdins declared that man was the strongest of all animals, that he was their lord, and that they were made for him.[5] The love, which hard-working

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1 Such as Âmikṣâ and seasoned Soma. *Vide* for instance, (II. 30.) of the same.

2 *Vide* (IV. 23.). There can be polygamy, but no polyandry. Hence perhaps among the non-Âryas, there was the latter.

3 The original words are :—Vyâptogatashṭîh * * * * Kṛichhrâdavapadyâ * *Vide* (IV. 4.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

4 *Vide* for instance, (VII. 35, 12.) of the Ṛik-Sanhitâ—"Shan no arvantah shamu santu gâvah." This spirit pervades the Ṛik-Sanhitâ.

5 *Vide* (IV. 3.) and (IV. 1.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa—Tasmât purusah pashusu pratiṣṭhito-atti chainânadhi cha tiṣṭhati—this means—"Hence a man stands among the cattle, eats them and rules over them." Compare this spirit with that of the Ṛik-Sanhitâ.

peasants bear to their cattle—their fellow-labourers, as well as their supporters—now gave way to the feeling of superiority which chivalry and military glory engenders. The great goal of ambition was to acquire a position of importance in society, and the performance of sacrifices was the means adopted.[1] The sacrifices subserved a national weakness. In the Vâjapeya and Mahâvrata sacrifices, the priests took their seats on a beautiful swing. While it rocked, dancing girls paraded their art to which music contributed its charms.[2] A large pavilion was mounted on a frame-work; the sacrificer took his seat on it; it was called heaven. The luxury could be enjoyed by the opulent. Some paraded their horses; others, their umbrellas. Dialogues, now considered obscene, were sanctioned as parts of a sacrifice.[3] Sometimes the priests could speak rather freely of the wives of the sacrificer himself. Modern India is ashamed of these things. A Brâhmana can never understand how they were sanctioned. But chivalry is not fastidious; and an European ball and a dance throw light on the direction which the human whims and caprices can take. Thus during the period of the Brahmavâdins, the Âryas enjoyed

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[1] *Vide* (I. 1, 5, 11.) and (II. 1.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana. Prosperity, firm footing, and the most distinguished place among one's own people, form the ruling ambition of the people.

[2] *Vide* the Vâjapeya and Mahâvrata prayogas. We have not got a copy. The information is given to us by a distinguished Marathi Shrotriya—our teacher of sacrificial philosophy.

[3] See the Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ (XXIII. 22, 23, 24.) with the Bhâsya of Mahîdhara. Nothing can be more obscene.

what their ancestors had acquired. Tranquillity and prosperity had succeeded incessant war-fare and dangerous adventures. The first proved a direct cause of the degeneracy of the Âryas, the last awakened their energies, roused their spirits, enlarged their vision, stirred up the deep recesses of their hearts, and spiritualized their aspirations. The one period produced the Brâhmaṇa-literature, the other bequeathed to humanity, a legacy of the Sanhitâ-literature, which will be the more appreciated, the more it is known and understood.

The country and the tribes.

The Âryan colonists gradually extended their settlements in the North-east, which they considered to be the sphere of their victories.[1] But some enterprising Âryas had already reached the country between the Ganges and the Jamna, and perhaps named it the Antar-Vedi[2] (the inner sacrificial ground). The centre of the Duâb was possessed; and small kingdoms flourished.[3] Its West, East, and North were partially occupied. Villages in the East

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1 *Vide* (I. 14.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. The North-east is called aparâjitâ—unconquered.

2 It is still known among the orthodox learned Shâstris as the Antar-Vedi.

3 *Vide* (VIII. 14.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. The kings in the Nîchyas and Apâchyas (in the West) are independent. People in the North about the foot of the Himâlayas such as the Uttara-Kurus, Uttara-Madras, have no king. Those in the centre with the Vasha and Ushînaras have regular râjâs. This section of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa is important. The kingdoms in the Duâb are called the Pratiṣṭhita or consolidated.

were thickly populated: in the West, they thought that there were deserts.[1] Extensive forests everywhere abounded.[2] Some were set on fire, or caught fire, as the ambition of the colonists or accident prevailed,[3] for the spirit of adventure had not become extinct as the travellers could find honey and delicious wild fruits in any quantity.[4] A story of the whole earth once being without any colony was yet told, as the memory of the great invasion was yet fresh.[5] A kingdom or a colony was often surrounded by primeval forests abounding in deer and birds.[6] The pastoral mode of life still predominated, though it had given way to chivalry and a sort of the feudal system. Many of the wild tribes were not as yet named. The Pancha-janâh or the five classes were as they had been before the period of invasion—Gods, Men, Gandharvas with Apsarâs, Serpents and Manes (Pitris). A god is not the correct translation of Deva, which simply meant a bright one—a distinguished person. The Nâgas were gradually excluded from the pale of the Âryan polity. The Nisâdas had not as yet made sufficient progress in

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1 *Vide* (III. 44.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

2 *Vide* (III. 31.) of the same, and *Vide* (VI. 23.).

3 (VII. 15.). The conflagration of a forest and the fire of an Agnihotrin are mentioned together and a penance named.

4 *Vide* (VII. 15.) the story of Harishchandra. "The wanderer finds honey and the sweet Oudumbara-fruit."

5 The earth was in the beginning without heir. *Vide* (V. 23.)

6 In the (III. 31.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana, occurs the following:—"the people always represent the interior of a kingdom"—thus showing that a kingdom was surrounded by forests which are mentioned in the same place—such forests as abounded with deer and birds.

civilization to aspire after the performance of sacrifices.[1] Vishvâmitra, or rather his legend, sanctioned the exclusion of other tribes such as the Pulindas and Shabaras.[2] Villages were prosperous as they could boast of seven kinds of cattle,[3] and the Brâhmaṇas who now formed the leading class were asked to propitiate the gods that the Âryan horses, rams, ewes, and cows, might flourish.[4] The horses as they are mentioned, indicate the importance still attached to them, and the progress the community had made towards settled life. Yet rams, ewes, and cows are associated with horses—a fact that shows that the agricultural and chivalrous modes of life co-existed. The patriarch and his sons and perhaps grandsons quietly cultivated their land, but when necessary, they mounted their horses and swords in hand, marched against their enemies. As yet the Brâhmaṇa was not afraid of wielding a sword, nor was the Ksatriya ashamed of tilling the land.[5] But influences were at work—influences too powerful not to change the social system, and to introduce gradually new institutions—the result of a change of views and aspirations.

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[1] They are mentioned in the (VIII. 11.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa as the most degraded thieves, murderers, along with savages.

[2] *Vide* (VII. 18.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

[3] *Vide* (II. 17.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

[4] *Vide* (III. 34.) of the same.

[5] *Vide* (VII. 18.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. The words of Vishvâmitra are important. "Devarâta has the royal superiority of the Jambus, and the Vedic divine knowledge of the Gâthins." Again, "These my sons will be rich in cattle and in warriors."

The action of the system of sacrifices on the Âryan community.

Sacrifices were frequently performed. The composition of the stirring songs (chhandas) had already exercised a powerful influence on the minds of the Âryas. The mode of invoking gods at a sacrifice had become elaborate. Men, gifted with good intellectuality, could only succeed in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the art of sacrificing. Many made strenuous efforts but a few only succeeded. Gradually a system of instruction was developed. The teacher, by way of distinction, was called an Âchârya. The mode of initiation, the rules of pupilage, and the costume of a pupil were necessarily attended to.[1] Vâmadeva taught a school which acquired a great reputation.[2] His many pupils included some highly talented youths, who began to cultivate literary and philosophical pursuits. The community, which attached a great importance to the performance of those sacrifices on which, they believed, depended their welfare, nay life itself, honoured their priests and amply patronized them. During this period, the Brahmavâdins were the recognized leaders of society. Strange sacrificial problems

1 *Vide* (III. 10, 9, 5.) of the Taittirîya-Brahmaṇa. See the goat-skin of the Brahmachârin mentioned in (VII. 13.), and (VII. 23.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

2 *Vide* (VI. 18.) of the Aitareya-Brahmaṇa. First Vishvâmitra saw those Sampâta-mantras, Vâmadeva composed (asrijata) those seen by Vishvâmitra. He taught them.

were discussed. Equally strange sacrificial dicta[1] were promulgated—dicta, it must be remembered, more willingly and implicitly obeyed than an act of a legislative council. Every Ârya delighted in causing a sacrifice to be performed. The priests multiplied: their influence increased, and their importance in society stimulated youths to follow their pursuits. The Âryas, who had ample leisure and means, adopted what the priests laid down. A Doctor of Divinity in one sense ruled over "the people," (who), says the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa,[2] "follow, in their sayings, him who possesses the whole speech, and the full Brahma, and who has obtained undisputed superiority." Young men left their houses, and their parents, and dwelt with their teachers, submitting themselves to a rigid and stern discipline. Nâbhânedis*th*a left his brothers and his father who was possessed of property and followed theological pursuits. His brothers cunningly sought to exclude him from a share in the property of his father. The story[3] is interesting as it throws much light as well on the school-system and its relation to the Âryan gentlemen who performed sacrifices, but who often required the services of real Doctors of Divinity like Nâbhânedis*th*a to help them out of theological intricacies,

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[1] Such discussions, as whether Agnihotra was to be offered before or after the sun-set, were common. For a dictum see (II. 31.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa—In the words of Haug—"He who having such a knowledge should abuse or curse the Hotṛi after he has repeated the *silent praise*, suffers injury."

[2] *Vide* (II. 15.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

[3] *Vide* (V. 14.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

as on the way in which learned men were rewarded. A strange course is recommended to a Brâhmaṇa-youth who failed in securing distinction as a scholar. "A Brâhmaṇa, who after having completed his Vedic studies should not attain to any fame, should go to a forest, string together the stalks of Darbha-grass with their ends standing upwards, and sitting on the right side of another Brâhmaṇa, repeat with a loud voice *chaturhotri* Mantras.[1] Sometimes Doctors of Divinity quarrelled. Vâmadeva differed from Vishvâmitra.[2] Both published their opinions. Sometimes a learned man was ridiculed. The sons of Aitasha[3] stopped his mouth when he began to repeat his strange Mantras. Aitasha was an eccentric philosopher. He thought he could prolong human life by teaching a new way of performing a sacrifice. In an animal-sacrifice, different parts of the animal killed were carefully allotted to different priests. The knowledge of the parts constituted an important branch of study, the history of which is thus narrated in the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa[4]:—"This division of the sacrificial animal was invented by the *Ri*si Devabhâga, a son of Shruta. When he was departing from this life, he did not entrust (the secret to any one.) But a supernatural being communicated it to Girija, the son of Babhru. Since his time men study it." The performance of sacrifices to which

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1 *Vide* (V. 23.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

2 *Vide* (VI. 18.) of the same. The names of Bharadvâja, Vasis*tha*, and Nodhâs are mentioned in this connection.

3 (VI. 33.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa mentions Aitasha—a Muni.

4 *Vide* (VII. 1.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

every Âryan gentleman paid particular attention and on which he spent as much wealth as might be necessary, paved the way for the aggrandizement and supremacy of Brâhmanas,—as yet only the educated Âryas, for Vishvâmitra, though a warrior, took a prominent part as a teacher, and Vasistha, a teacher of reputation, taught also his own pupils. But throughout the Aitareya-Brâhmana, there is not even a faint indication of their inveterate hostility.

The general condition of Society.

The condition of theology, philosophy, literature, and folklore, point to the conclusion that society had become artificial, and its modes of thought and forms of aspirations had been secularized by prosperity, ease, and the sense of triumph. First, we will examine the general condition of society. The patriarchal system prevailed. The father was the judge as well as the law-giver. He could divide the ancestral property in any way he liked. The stories of Nâbhânedistha or Vishvâmitra support this statement. Necessarily the mother—the wife of the patriarch[1]—possessed a great influence, in exercising which, she often showed a proneness to quarrelsomeness.[2] She had preference of all the female members of the family, for she could take her meal before her sisters-in-law.[3] In modern

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[1] *Vide* (V. 14.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana. "By an adjudicator and arbitrator, they meant their father."

[2] *Vide* (III. 24.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana. "Then his wife does not quarrel with him in his house."

[3] *Vide* (III. 37.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

Indian society, her position is inferior to that of her sisters-in-law. Though women possessed a great influence over their husbands, they did not freely converse with them—a practice essential to modesty, which imparts delicate grace to beauty. Prâsahâ—a beloved wife of Indra—said to the gods who asked her a question[1]:—"I will give you an answer to-morrow, for women ask their husbands, (and) they do so during the night" when they can give lectures behind the curtain, and persuade their lords to accede to their wishes and to sanction their whims. Sons were preferred to daughters, for prayers were often offered to gods to grant them racy warriors—a name by which the youths in the family were known. Grand and special preparations for celebrating a marriage were made. The para-nymphs gathered in numbers, to whom torches showed the way, and who walked in a procession.[2] The marriage-gifts (vahatu) were paraded as the procession moved towards the house of the bride-groom. The gifts often consisted even of a thousand cows. Hospitality was the rule of life, and guests were received with great ceremony:[3] cows were specially killed for them: baths, water, and food (Madhuparka[4]) were offered to them. The dishes consisted of milk and its

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1 *Vide* (III. 22.) of the same.

2 *Vide* (IV. 7.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa :—"Prajâpati gave his daughter Sûryâ Sâvitrî in marriage to the king Soma."

3 *Vide* (II. 20.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

4 The statements about the Madhuparka are based on the description of the Atithya-iṣṭi, for Madhuparka is not mentioned by name in the Brâhmaṇa-literature.

preparations. Soma, when mixed with milk, made an excellent beverage. The *Rishis* attributed to it their conquests and their knowledge. The Brahmavâdins worshipped it. As is natural, the birth of a child produced feelings of delight in the family, " because parents say in their conversations about a child when it is born :—' It has the desire of listening (to us)[1]: it is very attentive, (see) it endeavours to raise its neck, then its hand.' " Thus many a tender thought was expressed, and many a kind wish, entertained. Next to the members of the family, the cattle attracted special attention. Their pasture-grounds were carefully looked after.[2] Large sheds were erected for their accommodation.[3] The rights in the property of land or cattle were thoroughly developed. There was sometimes a cause of difference between families and clans. The Aitareya-Brâhmana[4] observes that even here (in affairs of daily life) people say when they quarrel :—" As far as the right of possession is concerned, this is ours." The right of possession was the right of property—a principle which still rules our transactions, as possession is nine-tenths of law. The right of primogeniture was established. The relations naturally enough raised difficulties, which the sharpness and intelligence alone of the first-born could overcome. The first-born was the natural

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1 *Vide* (III. 2.) of the same.

2 *Vide* (IV. 27.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana : for Tura, the son of Kavasa, knew some customary rules.

3 *Vide* (III. 24.) of the same.

4 *Vide* (III. 28.) of the same.

as well as recognized leader of the family—an important factor of a clan.[1] "He who has such a knowledge is acknowledged as the first-born and leader. All his relations agree as (to his right) to the leadership." Again the gods, the Aitareya-Brâhmana remarks, (once) did not acknowledge Indra's right of primogeniture and leadership. The principle of clanship predominated and exercised a more powerful influence than caste itself. The Brâhmanas were divided into clans, because a boy of the Angiras-clan could not be adopted into a family of the Bharatas.[2] The Paingyas differed from the Kousitakas as to the customs of the new or full moon sacrifices.[3] The castes of the Vaishyas and Shûdras were fixed, for no real Vaishya or Shûdra ever attempted to raise his head and aspire after equality with the Brâhmana or Ksatriya. But the Brahma and the Ksatra or the status of a Brâhmana and that of a Ksatriya were soluble and interchangeable. It was by a series of political artifices, to be noticed in the sequel, that the two castes were separated. The memory, that the king of the Âryas was elected, lingered among the higher classes.[4] The general tendency of the Ksatriyas was to develop into princes, whose right to the throne was hereditary. But a prince might own only a castle, some land for pasturage, a number of cattle, and some followers, and might rule over a

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1 *Vide* (IV. 25.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

2 (VII. 17.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana the story of Shunahshepa.

3 *Vide* (VII. 11.) of the same.

4 *Vide* (I. 14.) "The devâs said, it is on account of our having no king, that the Asuras defeat us. Let us elect a king. All consented."

few miles only. Every Ksatriya was a Râjâ. They seldom fought with one another. The idea of an empire divided into tributary principalities was formed.[1] The Ashvamedha-sacrifice, which proclaimed to the Âryan world the triumphs of a prince and his political paramountcy, was sometimes performed. The Âryan princes, instead of waging bloody wars among themselves, enjoyed in peace and luxury the fruits of the conquests made by their ancestors. Their habits were gradually changed. Agricultural pursuits were carefully followed, but the Vaishyas were separated from the ruling-classes—the Brâhmanas and Ksatriyas—by a social gulf which difference of habits, pursuits, and tastes cannot but create. The customs of pasturage were fixed. The Shûdras attempted to please their Âryan lords by their submissive industry and enforced obedience.[2] The Ksatriyas abandoned themselves to luxuries, and indulged in the gratification of their passions. Their conscience, which now and then produced in them the sense of their sins and caused uneasiness, was quieted by a sacrifice in which sometimes sins were confessed, and a great stress on the removal of a moral stain was laid.[3] The Ksatriyas drove in rattling carriages which were gaudily ornamented, and costly metals like gold and silver were not spared.[4] If rivers in

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[1] *Vide* (VII. 34.) From all directions, he (a king) exacts tribute, his kingdom becomes strong, and is not to be shaken.

[2] *Vide* the Kusmânda and Gana-homa as described in the Taittirîya-Aranyaka. *Vide* (IV. 22.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

[3] *Vide* (III. 2, 3, 9.) and (III. 3, 11, 2.) of the Taittirîya-Brâhmana. Then in front, the Western Shûdras are known (âvasyanti).

[4] *Vide* the foot-notes already given.

their territories threatened to oppose an obstacle, they were either bridged[1] over or crossed in boats.[2] Elephants were tamed, and their trappings, while they conduced to convenience, were gorgeous and suited the dignity of the princely driver.[3] Regular warfare is mentioned by way of an illustration. But attacks were made on neighbouring forests in which the aboriginal tribes still lurked; and some animals, in which their property consisted, were wrested from them and triumphantly exhibited to the Âryas as booty.[4] The princes or rather powerful Ksatriyas paraded their influence which necessarily depended on the number of their followers. Ornaments of gold had superseded the armour, which the Âryas who invaded India wore, and commended. Chivalrous and predatory life gradually passed away. Carpets fringed with gold were spread.[5] The princes took their seats on them and awarded prizes to the swiftest runner, and foot-races excited a great interest among the Âryas.[6] But the general sentiment was much refined, as the Brâhmana shrank from killing a sacrificial animal though his legitimate and essential function.[7] The Âryas naturally enough boasted of

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1 A bridge mentioned in (III. 35.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana. It is called *Setu*, and is used in connection with tarana or crossing.

2 *Vide* (IV. 13.) of the same. The word *nâvou* is used as connected with *tarati*.

3 Elephants had been used even during the period of invasion as mentioned in the last chapter.

4 *Vide* (II. 25.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

5 *Vide* (VII. 18.) of the same.

6 *Vide* (IV. 7.) of the same.

7 The Shamitâ gradually ceased to be a Brâhmana.

their polished manners, which could not but contrast favourably with those of the Shûdras.[1]

The Brâhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shûdras, how characterized in the literature of the times.

The Brâhmaṇas[2] "are ready to take gifts, thirsty after drinking Soma, hungry of eating food, and ready to roam about everywhere according to their pleasure." "They formed a fraternity."[3] This picture is not at all flattering. But the Âryan community honoured their priests, and though they hankered after food, drink, and the means of procuring them, yet they commanded respect and attention to their wishes. "The Kṣatriya then is in the Kṣattra, and the royal power represented by the *Nyagrodha* over the trees, is then placed in him. Just as the Nyagrodha tree has, by means of its descending roots, a firm footing on the earth (for it is multiplied in this way), the royal power of a Kṣatriya who enjoys, when sacrificing, this portion (as food) has a firm footing, and his rule cannot be overthrown."[4] The passage quoted

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1 Read the remark of Shunah-shepa to his father: "what is not found even in the hands of a Shûdra, one has seen in thy hand, the knife (to kill thy son with)." *Vide* (VII. 17.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

2 *Vide* (VII. 29.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

3 Brâhmaṇatâ is Brâhmaṇa-hood and not a Brahmanical fraternity, as translated by Haug. In this connection see the Sûtras (IV. 2, 42-43.) of Pâṇini.

4 *Vide* (VII. 31.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. The translation of Martin Haug quoted here may be compared with our translation—"Then indeed he causes the Kṣatra-power of the plants and trees (Vanaspatis) to be placed in himself (who is) a Kṣatra, that is, a Kṣatriya. As the Nyagrodha (ficus Indica) by descending shoots stands firm

discovers two facts,—first, the Ksatriya princes were anxious to consolidate their power and to perpetuate their rule; secondly, the Brâhmanas possessed the means of the stability of a Ksatriya, which depended on the due performance of sacrifices. The Vaishyas live, "paying taxes to a king (not their own) to be enjoyed by others, and are oppressed according to the pleasure of the king."[1] "The Shûdras are to serve others, to be beaten and expelled according to the pleasure of their masters."[2] They were the slaves of the Âryas, whose treatment of the Shûdras cannot but be considered mild, when it is compared with that which was the inevitable lot of the negro-slaves in America at the hands of the European Âryas of modern times. The history of the Shûdra-slaves reproduced itself in that of the negro-slaves. But liberty and social status were gradually con-

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(pratisthati) in the ground, (so the Ksatriya stands firm) in (his rule), for his rule not to be disturbed becomes powerful, when a Ksatriya-sacrificer eats thus this portion." Martin Haug's translation is always too free, if not lax, to be of any use from a historical point of view.

[1] *Vide* (VII. 29.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana. Compare again our translation with that quoted in the text. "He is a tax-payer to others, to be worked (literally to be enjoyed or eaten) by others as they desire, (and) to be subjugated." It will be seen from the comparison of the two translations what the value of Haug's translation is. Yet he deserves credit, for he is the only European who attempted to study the intricate sacrificial system, the difficulties of which become discernible by the failure of a hard-working scholar like Dr. Martin Haug.

[2] He "is a menial slave (presyas), to be made to stand up as his master desires, and to be killed (Vadhyas) as he pleases or desires." This is our translation. Compare it with the one in the text. It is Dr. Martin Haug's.

ceded to the Shûdras in ancient India by the ancient Âryas, as the Shûdras were found qualified; while a bloody war alone, waged for years, could emancipate the negro-slaves from a bondage which had not one palliating circumstance about it. Thus the Âryan community was stratified: its rules of life were fixed: its aspirations were petrified: they had become stiff, immovable, and clang to the objects of life to which they happened once to be directed: their intellect was warped and lost its powers of reasoning as well as of conception: their fancy revelled in drawing grotesque pictures of the sacrifice and its glories. Every social institution was artificially worked. Prosperity, which followed the settlement of the Âryas in the fertile valleys of the great rivers and the subjugation of the aborigines, produced this result. The influence of mere material prosperity on a nation, however enterprising and adventurous, is seldom duly estimated. Yet the Spaniards succumbed to its influence. The court of a Ksatriya-prince was now the chief centre of activity. The Brâhmana developed his plans of self-aggrandizement there, and by means of sacrificial dicta, promulgated social rules and laws: the Vaishya brought his costly commodities, either for sale, or as presents to the prince: the Shûdra-slaves implicitly obeyed their masters. The Ksatriya leader could exalt any body he liked; if he condescended to give a drink from the goblet he used, he conferred a great honour.[1] Though ostentatious and luxurious, he paid attention to the administration of justice, for he is said to have

[1] *Vide* (III. 30.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

revised his judgments. The influence of the Brâhmaṇa, though exercised indirectly and imperfectly, was really great.

The influence of the Brâhmaṇas.

We have pointed out how a sacrifice was esteemed, and what its bearing on the national life was. The sacrifice cannot be separated from the priests or Brâhmaṇas and the sacrificer. The relation between these three is the key to the appreciation of the moral, intellectual, and political forces which moulded society. The dictum was fearlessly published. "In the priest rests the whole sacrifice, and the sacrificer in the sacrifice."[1] Nothing, in performing a sacrifice, could be omitted. Nothing could be hastily done. Every thing, even to the laying down of a sacrificial vessel, was to be arranged systematically.[2] Another dictum made the services of a priest absolutely necessary[3]:—"What is complete in form, that is successful in the sacrifice." The power of a Mantra was supernatural. By means of it, a priest could accomplish anything for the sacrificer.[4] "This Prauga Shastra represents the vital airs, the Hotâ addresses this recitation to seven deities, for there are seven vital airs in

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[1] *Vide* (II. 32.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. The original words are "Ṛitviji hi sarvo yajnah pratiṣṭhitah (yajne yajamânah)."

[2] "What is complete in form, * * that is successful in a sacrifice"—these words are repeated often and often in a Brâhmaṇa-work. *Vide* for instance, (I. 30.) of the same.

[3] *Vide* (III. 45.) of the same.

[4] *Vide* (III. 3.) of the same.

the head. By doing so, the Hotâ places the vital airs in the head (of the sacrifice)." This passage serves two purposes :—it points out the logical method of the Brahmavâdins, whose special forte was metaphor and analogy not based on facts, but often fanciful and far-fetched: and it directly shows the power of the priests. The whole Brâhmana-literature abounds with such passages. The section (III. 7.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana is specially important in this connection. " At this (the sacrifice) the Hotâ may just do with the sacrificer as he pleases." For a Mantra is a Vajra (a thunder-bolt), in consequence of its being pronounced in a loud and strong voice by the Hotâ. With it he strikes, whenever he pleases, a blow to his enemy and adversary, who is to be put down by him, in order to put him down."[1] The Mantra-weapons could not be wielded by those who were not priests.[2] " The Vasat-kâra is a weapon. The weapon is like a flash when one strikes with it without having conjured its evil effects. Not every one knows how to conjure it, nor its place." A Mantra could fulfil any desire: life itself could be prolonged: things lost could be recovered: victory could be gained in a battle: prosperity itself could be secured. The Hotâ could not be abused or cursed, for he possessed the power of injuring his enemy. These dicta were important,

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1 *Vide* (III. 7.). Our translation is.—"It (Vasat-kârah) (is) a Vajra. It strikes that that deadly blow (Vadham) to the enemy (an opponent) to prostrate him who is to be prostrated (of him) for him." *That that* so repeated shows emphasis. The translation as quoted is given by Dr. Haug.

2 *Vide* (II I. 8.) of the same.

for a sacrifice was publicly performed in-as-much as all the leading priests and householders were present on the occasion[1]—"a sacrifice being performed for the whole assembly." The priests attached special importance to precedence of place and position at a sacrifice[2]:—"the Hotâ here has been behind the Sâma-singers, and ceded his fame to the Udgâtâ. He has fallen from his place, and will also fall from it." The necessary consequence of the honour paid to priests and of the importance of a sacrifice was—priests, who sought to benefit themselves, multiplied. The priests are classified in the Aitareya-Brâhmana—(1) greedy and self-seeking priests, who seek to officiate at a sacrifice by inspiring fear, and (2) ill-reputed priests.[3] The Brâhmanas or priests were not weak. A strong Bahvrich or a Rig-vedi Brâhmana is mentioned.[4] The whole Âryan community was connected with the sacrifice. The Brahma or the power of Brâhmanas, which consisted in learning, was joined to the Ksatra or the power of the Ksatriyas, which consisted in bravery and strength by means of a sacrifice. Thus it will be seen that the power which the priests acquired over the Ksatriyas and Vaishyas was great, for they were not only sacrificers who could wield the weapons of Mantras, but distinguished theologians, philosophers, and literary men.

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1 The section (III. 13.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana is important.

2 *Vide* (II. 22.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

3 *Vide* (III. 46.) of the same: the three defects in a sacrifice are—Jagdha, Gîrna and Vânta—these are fully explained as applying to priests.

4 *Vide* (II. 36.) of the same.

Theology of the period.

Old myths are narrated with new seriousness for illustrating a part of a sacrifice. Such additions as are necessary for imparting to them sacrificial significance are fearlessly made. But there are some myths, which, being ancient as they are simple and pastoral, throw a light on the pre-Vedic period. These are examined in the first chapter. We will reproduce here one from the Taittirîya-Brâhmana, in the form in whch it is given in Muir's original Sanskrit texts."[1]

" Agastya was immolating bulls to the Maruts; these bulls Indra carried off. The Maruts ran at him brandishing a thunder-bolt. Agastya and Indra pacified them with the Kayâ Shubhîya," (referring to R. V. (I. 165, 1.) of which the first verse begins with the words *Kayâ Shubhâ*). " Indra invited them to the ceremony when pacified, for the Kayâ Shubhâ is used for pacification. Hence these bulls are to be offered to Indra and the Maruts." The story supports an established sacrificial custom. The Aitareya-Brâhmana (IV. 1.) declares :—" The gods provided the thunder-bolt for Indra, by the first day's (ceremony). By the second day's they moistened it. By the third day's they gave it to him. On the fourth day he hurled it."[2] " The gods instituted a remedial sacrifice. The Ashvins were the physicians. So also was Sarasvatî with speech. They imparted strength to Indra." The Taittirîya-Sanhitâ and Brâhmana, as they

[1] *Vide* 154 page of Vol. V. of Muir's Texts.

[2] *Vide* the Shatapatha Brâhmana (XII. 7, 1, 10.) and (XII. 8, 3, 1.), Muir's Texts, Vol. V., page 94.

are known at present, form one whole, which contains all the necessary information of the duties of the Adhvaryu and his subordinates. The Aitareya-Brâhmana does not give any information of the duties of the priests, who work with the Adhvaryu, or of the Adhvaryu himself. It intentionally withholds it. It supplies necessary information of the duties of the Hotâ, Brahmâ and Udgâtâ, as well as of their subordinates. The three treatises—the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ, the Taittirîya Brâhmana, when the latter was not divided from the former, and the Aitareya-Brâhmana constitute one sacrificial system, different parts of which dove-tail into one another. A sacrifice like the *Agnistoma* can be performed, when the three are read together, but the three were not composed about the same time. We have expressed our opinion about their composition and chronology in the first chapter. The composition of the Shatapatha as well as of the Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ belongs to the Âchârya-period, and will be referred to in the fourth chapter of this Essay. At the time of the invasion of India by the Âryas, a great intellectual revival and moral upheaval took place. The gods were praised with a new vigour, and hundreds of stories about them were told. A great poet is only a representative of a fry of small poets, who in their turn prepare the national mind for appreciating the songs of their leader, as they can easily come in close contact with the inmates of every family. The great poet only embellishes by his genius every story which the different sections of society delight in narrating on every auspicious occasion of life. Thus the stories narrated by recognised poets like Homer of the

Greeks, or the *Risis* of the ancient Âryas, form the superior literature, venerated by the people. The stories of the inferior poets form the folklore which is the only intellectual food of the common people. The *Rik*-Sanhitâ represents the higher literature. The Brâhmaṇas reproduce the folklore. The invention of a story is the peculiar business of a real poet,—a story that commands and enslaves the attention of its hearers.

The myths, which float in a nationality, form the real back-bone of theology. When the myths are only remembered and do not excite the feelings, which they could excite in the days of their power, theology must be said to have lost its hold. The modern Ârya in India does not understand the significance of the myths of the sacrificial period, is not moved by them, and cannot attempt to live the life they commend. *Mutatis Mutandis*, the same observation may be made of modern religions like that of the Chinese, or of the Jews, or of the Mahomedans. But the process of the inflexibility of myths commenced in India as soon as the race of the *Risis* died out. The Brahmavâdins could not realize their expressions at once poetical and transcendental. They paraphrased them into the concrete ideas of common life. Heaven, which a *Risi* could not realize, and which transcended his powers of expression,[1] was considered by the Brahmavâdins to be as solid as the earth,[2] its distance from which is specified.[3] Three Lokas or

1 *Vide* the last but one hymn of the ninth Maṇḍala. It gives a description of heaven.

2 *Vide* (III. 25.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

3 *Vide* (II. 17.) of the same.

seven[1] Lokas (higher regions) are mentioned. Concrete sacrifices performed by the hand were the means of attaining to it. The *Ri*si, conscious of the perpetual struggle between his *good* and *evil minds*, humiliated himself in the presence of his God, and sought to remove the stain of sin by fervidly praying to Him.[2] The Brahma was once a prayer—such a prayer as moved the heart and filled the head of its utterer. The Brahma was now the knowledge which a Brahmavâdin possessed. The Brahma was now the learning. The Brahma was now a pious Brâhma*n*a. The *Ri*si struggled hard to express the notion of eternity and infinity in time or space. His hymns of Aditi inspire a reader even at this distance of time: Aditi in the mouth of a theologian of this period is simply this:—"She is what is born: She is what is to be born. By repeating musically (I. 89, 10.) R. S., the sacrificer either obtains cattle or a firm footing in the world, or the Hotâ places a two-legged sacrificer among the four-legged animals."[3] The Brahmavâdin, who sees and realizes the worldly prosperity of the Âryas, cannot understand the spiritual strains of the *Ri*sis. His interpretation is of the flesh. The *Ri*si often and often prays to his gods to forgive his sins and characterizes his intellect as poor and weak. The Brahmavâdin tells a story of a battle between the Asuras and the Devas, and concludes it with the dictum:—"The enemy, the incarnate Sin (Pâpman), the adversary of him who has such a knowledge, perishes by himself."[4] The

[1] *Vide* (II. 17.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a.

[2] See the poem in the first chapter.

[3] *Vide* (III. 31.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a.

[4] *Vide* (III. 39.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a.

Ṛisi was always afraid of the powers of the evil principle which he called Nirṛiti or Satan. His hymns are spiritual; their form is abstract. The Brahmavâdin describes the way in which a sacrificial Shastra is to be repeated, and concludes it thus[1]:—"Nirṛiti (the goddess of destruction) is lurking with her cords, thinking of casting them round (the Hotâ). The Hotâ wrests also from the hands of Nirṛiti her cords, and puts them down when repeating this Dvipadâ verse, by which means he comes off in safety." The idea of a *Ṛisi*, as entertained by a Brahmavâdin, is not correct. The *Ṛisi* often calls himself a poet, a singer, a bard, an intellectual person, a muni, or one absorbed in thought, or a worshipper.[2] The Brahmavâdin characterizes him "as lean, long, and pale,"[3] and confounds him with a *Yati*[4] or an ascetic, who is almost for the first time mentioned, and who had begun a reaction against the lifeless sacrificial formulæ and acts.[5] The *Ṛisi*

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1 *Vide* (IV. 10.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

2 The *Ṛisi* often calls himself a kavi, a gâthin, a gâyatrin, a medhâvin, an arkin, or as in (X. 183, 1.) R. S., "I saw thee knowing or known by the mind—thee produced from tapas, or triumphing in tapas."

3 *Vide* (III. 49.). Bharadvâja is called a *Ṛisi*. Agni stands up and characterizes him.

4 *Vide* (VII. 28.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa. "Yatibhyah" occurs in (VIII. 3, 9.) R. S. Sâyaṇa interprets it into ascetics whose wealth was transferred to Bhṛigu. In the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa, they are said to be thrown before wolves. Thus the Yatis were persecuted, see the fourth Chapter of this Essay, para—Asceticism. The section (VII. 13.) of the Brâhmaṇa gives a picture of a Yati—dirt, hides, and hair growing.

5 A thinker interprets (I. 164, 39.) R. S. and declares that the mysterious Sâvitra has nothing to do with the *Ṛik*-hymns, or Yajushymns, or with the Sâma-songs. See (III. 10, 9, 14.) of the Taittirîya-

sang in stirring strains of the power and functions of the sun—now characterized as the nourisher (Pûsan), now as the great producer (Savitri), now as the refulgent day (Sûrya), and now as the celestial light (Mitra). The Brahmavâdin mentions all the inspiring epithets of the sun as they are to be found in the *Ri*ks[1] and bases his own dictum upon them[2]:—"He (the sun) is all these (forms). Among the metres (sacred verses) this (Hansavatî verse) is, as it were, his most expressive and clearest form. Thence the Hotâ, whenever he makes the Dûroha*na*m, makes it with the Hansavatî verse." The Brahmavâdin encouraged belief in magic and pronounced a formula of safety.[3] The *Ri*si was vexed with the magicians of the non-Âryas and prayed to his god to overcome them. To the *Ri*si each god was great and all-powerful. He prayed to him and praised him with the fervour of a pious man to whom the Supreme Spirit reveals itself. The Brahmavâdin could not understand the unlocalized and soluble characterization of the gods as made by the *Ri*si. He establishes a concrete

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Brâhma*na*. The thinker is probably Bharadvâja, mentioned in (III. 10, 11, 3.) of the same.

[1] See (IV. 40, 5.) and (X. 170.) of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.

[2] *Vide* (IV. 20.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*na*.

[3] *Vide* (III. 26.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*na*—"Preti cheti cheti" is the formula consisting of the words pra châ châ with iti. Then upon him, who may be beloved of this (gentleman), say these Mantras—he safely goes and safely returns. Whenever a man left his house, this magic-formula was pronounced at his departure to secure him safety in his journey. It was believed that the formula could accomplish the object. Such practices illustrate the spirit of the age. Prosperity had totally unnerved the national mind.

relation between them.[1] "Prajâpati is the first of gods." "Agni is the nearest of gods." "Savitri rules over the creatures." "Varuna (is) the king." "Agni is the mouth of the gods and the most compassionate of them." "Indra is the strongest, the most powerful, the most enduring, the most true of the gods, who knows best how to bring to an end any thing." Indra or Mahendra, Indrâ-Somou (Indra and Soma) are pre-eminently the sacrificial gods. The *Risi* was superstitious. But the Brahmavâdin was more superstitious. He was afraid of venturing out at night:[2] he believed in evil omens and in the power of ominous birds or trees.[3] The arrow of Krishânu—a guardian of the Soma—cut off a toe of the metre-Gâyatri who had undertaken to procure Soma for the gods. The evils, which the superstitions of the period sanctioned, sprang from the arrow of Krishânu,[4] whose story is interesting in this connection. The theology of the period tended to increase the power of the sacrifice and of the Brahmavâdins, for it was concrete, that is, not powerful to awaken the mind or to move the feelings. It was such, as a period of rest, of inactivity, and of great prosperity, develops.[5]

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1 *Vide* (VII. 16.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

2 *Vide* (IV. 5.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

3 *Vide* (II. 15.) and (III. 26.) of the same.

4 The story of Krishânu in (III. 26.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana is important as the source of other stories and superstitions.

5 The stories of Mahâbhisekas or coronation-ceremonies show the love of the Âryas for ostentation, for extravagance, for splendour, and the vanity of their heart. They were completely debauched by ease.

The literature of the period.

The literature of this period discovers two new sides—the sacrificial Gâthâs and popular stories. The Gâthâs of the *Ri*sis cannot be distinguished from their stories or their *Brahmâni* or their Mantras, or their *minds*. In short, they either praised or prayed; and the names of the different literary compositions merged into prayer or praise or Brahma. At the time of the Brahmavâdins, the significance of praise or prayer could not be realized. The predominant idea was a sacrifice. Hence the sacrificial Gâthâs (Abhiyajña gâthâ[1]) are met with. Popular stories are historically important, and we find them abundantly in the Âchârya-period, during which the Ksatriyas like Bhîsma, delighted in instructing their brother-Ksatriyas by the narration of instructive stories.[2] We will translate one in the fourth Chapter of this Essay. The story of Prajâpati's incestuous marriage is entirely cosmical. It is an old story. Its nature seems to have been forgotten. It appears to have been believed in as real. The Âchârya-philosophers[3] attempted and proposed its analysis. The Brâhma*na*-literature recurs to the story as often as it can—a fact which shows that there was a tendency in the ancients to believe the story to be real, and to found upon it a social institution of marriage between cousins such as has obtained among the followers of Zoroaster. The stories persistently told throw

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[1] *Vide* (VII. 13.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*na*.

[2] See for instance the Shânti-parva of the Mahâbhârata.

[3] *Vide* (III. 33.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*na*.

sufficient light on the social momentum, the direction in which the popular mind works. The story of Nâbhânedis*th*a[1] seeks to enforce a highly important moral, though it circumscribes its application,—"A learned man should never speak untruth." The serpent-*Ri*si, Arbuda,[2] son of Kadru, helped some sacrificers by pointing out to them how to proceed. The serpents (sarpas) form a constituent part of the Âryan idea of the five races of man (Pancha-Janâs).—1. Devas, 2. Manu*s*yas, 3. Gandharvas and Apsarâs, 4. Serpents and 5. Manes. The Devas were believed to be real and concrete. For instance, Agni was nothing beyond culinary or sacrificial fire as actually seen. The Manu*s*yas or men are placed next to gods, Gandharvas and Apsarâs were inferior gods who ruled over forests and rivers. The serpents were real serpents. But the question is—how could a serpent-*Ri*si teach sacrifices? It appears to us that those, who particularly worshipped serpents or who rather subsisted on the offerings made to serpents, were also called serpents. They were inferior Âryas. Analogy supports this view. The worshippers of the Bhavâni at Tu*l*jâpur in Mahârâs*t*ra,—a respectable family of the Marâthâs—are known as Ambâbâi, the name of the goddess. Every Ârya, who sought the Gandharvas or Apsarâs, could not find them. But those, who brought the Soma or procured what the Apsarâs were believed to possess, would naturally be identified with the gods

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1 *Vide* (V. 14.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a.

2 *Vide* (VI. 1.) of the same.

themselves. Thus the mention of Arbuda, son of Kadru, a serpent-*Ri*si, can be explained.[1] The Manes (Pitris), represented those who once lived. We have gone into the question of the Pancha-Janâs at some length, because, we believe, they supplied ample materials for popular stories, which in a particular stage of civilization constitute the only intellectual food, as they explain cosmical phenomena. They are seriously narrated and devoutly listened to. These stories are enlarged or reduced or explained away as the particular state of national civilization necessitates. During this period, every story is more or less sacrificial. During the Âchârya-period, it is more or less philosophical. The short poems in praise of individuals (Nârâshansis) abounded. The gifts of princes like Janmejaya were extolled.[2] Probably the bards sang short stories and exercised a great influence on the national mind, which their puns and alliterations entertained.[3] The reminiscences of the exploits and speculations of the great Âryan leaders were still fresh. Many stories of their wonderful doings were told. The literary

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1 The institution of the sarpa-bali or a sacrifice to serpents mentioned by Âshvalâyana supports our view. The Gandharvas were those who were left behind in their onward march by the Âryas "Gandhâri*a*âm avikâ" is mentioned in the *Ri*k-Sanhita. Gradually Soma could not be had for it grew on the Mûjavat. The Gandharvas brought it down into the plains. They were gradually distinguished as superior beings. The devas were present to the minds of the Âryas. On the Shrâddha-day, the pit*r*is came as they still come.

2 *Vide* (VIII. 22.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a : the Shlokas are given.

3 *Vide* (V. 4.) of the same. Alliteration is called Viriphita.

leaders of the period are mentioned; but their chief accomplishment was a special knowledge of the sacrificial rites. The Angiras were confounded in a sacrifice, and Shâryâta, son of Manu, helped them out of their difficulties.[1] Gaya, son of Plata, pronounced the Gaya-Sûkta, and "obtained the favour of the Vishvedevas, and conquered the highest world."[2] "Once a learned man, Jânashruteya, a resident of a town, said to an Aikâdashâksa, a descendant of Manutantu:—'We recognise from the children whether one brings the Agnihotram with or without the proper knowledge,' because Aikâdashâksa had as many children as are required to fill a kingdom."[3] He could not have obtained the children, if he had not performed the Agnihotram. The predominance of the sacrificial notions constitutes the times of the Brahmavâdins a distinct period in the history of the ancient Âryas—a period which is fraught with political interest; for the inculcation of sacrificial principles resulted in the political aggrandizement of the Brâhmanas as distinguished from the Ksatriyas, whom prosperity had intoxicated and vitiated, and whose morals had degenerated. The Brâhmanas represent the intellectuality or the mind of the period, and the Ksatriyas, merely material prosperity. During the first period, when the Âryas invaded India, the *Ri*sis or Kavis exercised a strong influence on the warriors, and in many cases, the

1 *Vide* (IV. 32.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

2 *Vide* (V. 2.) of the same.

3 *Vide* (V. 30.) of the same.

warriors sang, as well as fought. But prosperity had separated the intellectual classes, who delighted in studying and performing sacred rites from those, whose fore-fathers had bravely fought, who had found wealth in plenty, who could not engage their time, and who began to dissipate their energies. In support of these statements we will yet adduce additional evidence.

The state of philosophy.

The settlement of the Âryas in the fertile valleys of the Ganges, and of the Indus, and their prosperity necessarily produced in them the sentiment of conscious self-importance. The Roman often glorified in being a Roman. The Englishman sometimes emphatically asserts that he is an English gentleman. The Chinese in the fertile land of large rivers have always traced their descent to the gods. The same causes produced the same effect in ancient India at the time of the Brahmavâdins. Their favourite god, Agni, was produced by friction. The generation of Agni was, even at the time of the *Ri*si, compared to the birth of a child. The two Ara*n*is had been called Urvashî and Purûravas. This process of generation and the self-importance of an Ârya are the keys to the interpretation of all the speculations of the Brahmavâdins. The two halves of the year caused by the equinox are the two equal halves of man.[1] The philosophical

[1] *Vide* (IV. 22.) of the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a.

ecstasy, spoken of by the *Rishis*, "as the paths which are provided with lights and made by absorption in meditation,"[1] is now interpreted into the roads of gods (to heaven), and the sacrificing priest, Hotâ, paves these roads.[2] The abstract is degraded into the concrete. The sun never sets and never rises[3]: it is ever in motion. But when the sun faces men most, it burns with the greatest force. The knowledge of a sacrifice unites the sacrificer with the sun, and he assumes the solar forms and enters the solar region. The Visuvat or equinoctial day is the head of a man whose both sides are equal. Man is, as it were, composed of fragments. That is the reason that even here a suture is found in the midst of the head. What is seen actually is only true. "If two men have a dispute with one another, they believe him who says 'I have seen it by the exertion of (my own) eyes'."[4] The other methods of proofs, such as inference or analogy or testimony as based on circumstantial evidence, are never mentioned in the Brâhmana-literature. The forms of thought and speculation developed by the *Rishis* were not understood, nor has the mere performance of a sacrifice the power to elevate the mind, by calling forth its activities, and to appreciate abstract truth. The powers of the mind were directed towards the discovery of points of mere resem-

1 *Vide* (X. 58, 6.) of the *Rik*-Sanhitâ.

2 *Vide* (III. 38.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

3 *Vide* (III. 44.) of the same.

4 *Vide* (II. 40.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana. "chaksur vai satyam" has passed into a proverb. It is the only evidence once accepted.

blances between man and the person of the sacred sacrifice. "The Soma-jars are the vital airs."[1] "The Maitrâ-varuṇa priest is the mind, and the Hotâ is the speech of the sacrificial person." This style of thought pervades the whole of the literature of the Brahmavâdins. "The vital airs are three-fold:—air inhaled, air exhaled, and the air circulating in the body."[2] "The *ritu-yâjas* (certain sacrificial formulæ) are the vital airs."[3] A battle between Devas and Asuras was fought. The Devas gained a victory, because the latter then discovered the silent praise (a sacrificial formula). It was used as a weapon. The Devas raised it, but the Asuras did not get aware of it. Thus the Devas became masters of the Asuras.[4] This way of interpreting past events is significant. Even battles were won or lost, according as the one or the other party happened to know certain sacrificial formulæ. "The silent praise is the eye of the sacrifice. There being only one of the great words (Bhûr, Bhuvas, and Svar) in the silent praise of every libation, it must be repeated twice, for though the eye is only one, it is double (in its appearance.)"[5] The sense of this is, that though the eyes are two, yet only one object is seen. An interesting phenomenon is stated, but its use is to justify the repetition of a sacrificial formula. The Brahmavâdins could

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1 *Vide* (II. 28.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa, where this and the following passages occur.

2 *Vide* (II. 29.) of the same.

3 Ibid.

4 *Vide* (II. 31.) of the same.

5 *Vide* (II. 32.) of the same.

not change the language of the people. *Ka*, a pronoun, used in a question, also meant happiness. The Brahmavâdins interpreted it into a sacrificial form, for Prajâpati was also degraded into a mere sacrifice.[1] In the Shatapatha-Brâhmaṇa every god represents a sacrifice. The *Ri*sis aspired after ecstatic communion of their soul with the powers above. Communion is a common idea with the Brahmavâdins. But the idea is concrete. It means simply bodily union.[2] The feeling of spiritual elevation, the absorption of the soul into itself, its being unlocalized, its rising superior to the flesh and matter—all this was now misunderstood. Communion consisted in "assuming the form and entering the body" of the sacrifice or its parts. "He repeats a Yâjyâ-Mantra. The Yâjyâ is rain and (rain is) lightning. For lightning (produces) rain, and rain gives food. Thus he makes lightning, and enters it. He who has such a knowledge becomes identified with (all) these things, and with the deities."[3] "He repeats a triplet addressed to Mitrâ-Varuṇa. That is done, because they say, the eye is first produced when a human being is called into existence. By repeating a triplet addressed to Mitrâ-Varuṇa, he thus makes eyes to the

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1 'Ka' was the name of the sun or Sûrya among the Mazdâyasnians as we have already mentioned. The *Ri*si understood by it the Prajâpati or the sun. The Brahmavâdin interpreted it into a Yajna.

2 The word 'Sâyujya' is often used in the Brâhmaṇa-literature. It is explained as bodily union. "Such a one becomes united with the sun, assumes its form, and enters its place." *Vide* (III. 44.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

3 *Vide* (II. 41.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

sacrificer."[1] The phenomenon of the growth of a child in the womb is referred to. Of course, the collar-bone grows first. But the attempt at close observation is important. "The Hotâ addresses this recitation to seven deities, for there are seven vital airs in the head."[2] "The sky rests on the air; the air on the earth; the earth on the waters; the waters on the reality (Satya); the reality on the Brahma; the Brahma on the concentrated heat of meditation. If these things are established—then all things are consequently established."[3] The Chatur-Hotri, Pancha-Hotri and Dasha-Hotri-Mantras are always interesting, as an attempt is made to spiritualize the material sacrifice." "Their sacrificial spoon[4] was intelligence: their offering was endowed with intellect: their altar was speech: their Barhis (seat) was thought: their Agni was understanding: their Agnîdhra was reasoning." In describing the twelve bodies of Prajâpati, a question is asked and answered[5]:—"who has not the first material cause (apûrvâ), nor is liable to destruction? Who has no first material cause is the mind (manas), and what is not liable to destruction is the year." Again, the small sacrifice was enlarged, and the cravings of the mind after seeking the infinite and the indefinite were satisfied[6]:—"That Âditya (the sun) is his (Agni-

1 *Vide* (III. 2.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana.

2 *Vide* (III. 3.) of the same.

3 *Vide* (III. 6.) of the same.

4 *Vide* (V. 25.) of the same.

5 *Vide* (V. 25.) of the same.

6 *Vide* (V. 28.) of the same.

hotrin's) sacrificial post; the earth is his altar; the herbs are his Barhis (seat of grass); the trees are his fuel; the waters, his sprinkling vessels; the directions, the wooden sticks." The analogy of the process of burning, as it produces ruptures and unevenness, was remarkably applied to explain the elevations of the earth.[1] "From this burning state of the earth, came those ruptures (which are now visible on her; whereas she has been previously quite even." The zeal, with which sacrifices were performed, necessitated the justification of the different rites, and they could be justified only by pointing out analogies in nature. Such analogies were carefully and laboriously observed, and their application to the explanation of sacrificial rites resulted in producing a stock of knowledge of physical phenomena. This stock was of great use to the philosophical Âchâryas. The classification of five substances such as earth, water, light, air, and æther, which is the starting point in all systems of Indian philosophy, though it is differently stated, is to be traced to the Brâhmaṇa-literature.[2] The enquiry after the essence of matter and spirit, in which the Âchâryas delighted, was a necessary re-action against the sacrifice, its performance, and its materialism. Thus the period of the Brahmavâdins is an important transition in the history

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[1] *Vide* (VI. 35.). Martin Haug observes justly. "It is interesting to see the theories of modern geology fore-shadowed in this certainly ancient myth." The preparation of the sacrificial bread called Purodâsha suggested it.

[2] *Vide* for instance (V. 32.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

of the ancient Âryas. The sacrificial legends were developed, and a system of speculation and philosophy based on them grew up. The knowledge of such a system was considered indispensable to the performance of a sacrifice. Those, who devoted themselves to the acquisition of sacrificial lore, were separated from those who hunted in the forests and lived a luxurious life. The Ksatriya differed from the Brâhmaṇa in his habits and in his ambition. The four-fold division into castes, so elastic at the time of the Ṛisis, was now fixed and stereotyped. The simplicity and knowledge of a Ksatriya, his luxuries or his hunting expeditions, soon threatened to yield to the superior intelligence of the Brâhmaṇa.

A legend of a sacrifice with remarks.

"After[1] Prajâpati had created the sacrifice, the Brahma (divine knowledge) and the Ksatra (sovereignty) were produced. After both, two kinds of creatures sprang up, such ones as eat the sacrificial food, and such ones as do not eat

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1 We have generally quoted from the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa, first, because it treats of the duties of Hotâ and Brahmâ-priests, in order of time and in precedence ; Zoatha being mentioned in the Zendâvestâ, and Brahmâ at first meaning a bard only. Secondly, because other Brâhmaṇa-works do not throw as much light on the manners and customs of the times. Thirdly, because one European scholar only has laboured in this field. We have thought it proper to examine his work. The comparison of our translation with his will show how much remains to be done, but nothing can be accomplished till the system of the Pûrva-mîmânsâ is thoroughly investigated. In this direction, serious efforts are about to be made.

it. All eaters of the sacrificial food followed the Brahma, the non-eaters followed the Ksatra. Therefore, the Brâhmanas only are eaters of the sacrificial food; whilst the Ksatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shûdras do not eat it."

"The sacrifice went away from both of them; The Brahma and Ksatra followed it. The Brahma followed with all its implements, and the Ksatra followed (also) with its implements. The implements of the Brahma are those required for performing a sacrifice. The implements of the Ksatra are a horse, a carriage, an armour, and a bow with arrows. The Ksatra, not reaching the sacrifice, returned; for, frightened by the weapons of the Ksatra, the sacrifice ran aside. The Brahma then followed the sacrifice, and reached it. Hemming thus the sacrifice in its further course, the Brahma stood still; the sacrifice, reached and hemmed in its course, stood still also, and recognizing in the hand of the Brahma its own implements, returned to the Brahma. The sacrifice having thus remained only in the Brahma, it is therefore, only placed among the Brâhmanas, *i.e.*, (they alone are allowed to perform it.)"

"The Ksatra then ran after this Brahma, and said to it,—'allow me to take possession of this sacrifice (which is placed in thee.)' The Brahma said,—'well, let it be so; lay down thy own weapons, assume by means of the implements of the Brahma (the sacrificial implements) which constitute the Brahma, the form of the Brahma, and return to it.' The Ksatra obeyed, laid down his own weapons, assumed by means of the implements of the Brahma which constitute the Brahma,

its form, and returned to it. Therefore, even a Ksatriya, when he lays down his weapons and assumes the form of the Brahma by means of the sacrificial implements, returns to the sacrifice (he is allowed a share in it.)"[1]

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[1] We have quoted the passage as it is translated by Martin Haug. We will here give our translation. The passage deserves careful study. See (VII. 19.) section of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

"Prajâpati created the sacrifice. After (the word *anu* in the original shows inferiority, though it means "after" according to Pâṇini, (I. 4, 86.)) the sacrifice was created, he created Brahma and Ksatra. After Brahma and Ksatra, he created a two-fold people, both eaters of sacrificial food, and non-eaters of sacrificial food. The former (hutâda) are, of course, next to Brahma: The latter (ahutâda) are next to the Ksatra; and these which are Brâhmaṇa-people are eaters of sacrificial food (hutâda). Then these which are Râjanya, Vaishya, and Shûdra people, are non-eaters of sacrificial food. From them, the sacrifice ran away. The Brahma and Ksatra followed it. The Brahma followed indeed with those implements which are of Brahma: the Ksatra (followed with those which are) of Ksatra. Yes, *these* are the implements of Brahma, which (are) sacrificial implements: then *these* are the implements of Ksatra which (are) a horse, a chariot, helmet or armour, arrows and a bow. Not obtaining it (sacrifice) the Ksatra returned, because (the sacrifice) fearing (him) goes aside indeed from his weapons. Then Brahma went after it and obtained it. Having obtained it, (Brahma) restraining (it) stood before it (Parastât). It (sacrifice), (thus) obtained and restrained, stood before (and) knowing (its) own implements returned to Brahma. Hence then, indeed, the sacrifice stands in Brahma, that is, among the Brâhmaṇas. Then Ksatra went after it. It (sacrifice) said (to the Ksatra),—'in this sacrifice call me near.' It said "yes, so." Then it said—'keeping (aside) your own implements, with the implements of Brahma, in the form of Brahma, having become Brahma, return to the sacrifice'—so (it consented). Then Ksatra keeping aside its own implements, with the implements of Brahma, in the form of Brahma, having become Brahma, returned to the sacrifice. Hence then, indeed, a Ksatriya-sacrificer, keeping (aside) indeed, his own implements, with the implements, of course, of

This legend is historically important, for such a legend, when seriously narrated, and commonly believed in, indicates the real state of society. The performance of sacrifices paved the way for the exaltation of the priests. They could easily make out that it was their interest to exalt[1] the sacrifice. Thus the people and the warriors, not aware of the consequences with which the precepts of the priests were fraught, were gradually enslaved. The priests ruled over them, directed them, and succeeded, by their manners, their learning, their disinterested labours, their austerities, and their unflinching devotion to the cause of their religion, in imposing on the neck of the Indian Âryas the yoke of theology, which they have not been able to shake off in the course of centuries. Religiously, and therefore, socially, the warriors or Kṣatriyas permitted themselves to be reckoned as inferior to the Brâhmaṇas or the clergy. Similar causes produced a similar effect in Europe. The ignorant feudal lords of the middle ages gradually

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Brahma, in the form of Brahma, having become Brahma, approaches a sacrifice."

The rationale of the legend is—knowledge is essentially necessary to the performance of a sacrifice. The point of the legend is—both the Brâhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas are inferior to the sacrifice which must be approached. The aim of the legend is to rank the Kṣatriyas with the Vaishyas and Shûdras (ahutâdas). The policy is to allow the Kṣatriyas to perform a sacrifice, but as subject to the Brâhmaṇas.

1 Our translation differs, we know, from commentators in-as-much as they refer the dialogue to the Brahma and represent it as between Brâhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. We say—the Kṣatra asked questions to the sacrifice itself. Thus the importance of the sacrifice is maintained.

came to be mere tools in the hands of the Popes of Rome, who could direct their energies in any way they liked. Directed by their clergy, they left their homes, mortgaged their estates, and fought battles against the Saracens in remote Asia Minor. During the dark ages of the history of Indian Âryas, the clergy ruled over the states of ancient India. The legend was narrated when a theological dictum was enforced.

The power of the Purohitas or the Chaplains.

The Pepins superseded in a quiet way the successors of Charlemagne; and the Peshvas gradually usurped the power of the successors of Shivaji. These political revolutions are important. But they cannot be compared to the politico-social-revolution through which India passed during the period of which we are writing. The revolution was accomplished without any blood-shed or opposition. The chaplain, attached to the house-hold of a chieftain, acquired importance as the director of all religious ceremonies; and as the chieftain had no enemy to overcome, his time was absorbed by sacrificial rites he had to perform. The chaplain thus had it in his power to control the plans and the expenditure of his chieftain, with whose wife and children[1] he ingratiated himself, and whom he

[1] *Vide* (VIII. 28.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmana. There are fires in every house even now—the Âhavanîya, Gârhapatya, and Daksinâgni. The first is the representative of the sacrificing chaplain, the second, and third, of the wife and children of a chieftain, who should sacrifice into all the three fires, that is, please the constituents of his family—his chaplain, his wife, and his children.

enslaved completely. In modern India, the influence of a priest over the minds of susceptible women often enables him to rule over an opulent gentleman, however independent and sceptical. The sanctity of the three sacrificial fires was established and acquiesced in. The chaplain, it was solemnly declared, was the first fire,[1] the wife of the chieftain was the second

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[1] *Vide* (VIII. 24.). The chaplain is the Âhavanîya-fire. His place in the family was thus important.

We will offer our translation of the passage quoted in the text :—

"Now then of the (duties) of a Purohita. The gods do not indeed eat the food of a king (who has) no Purohita whatever. Therefore, a king, not sacrificing, should make a Brâhmaṇa his Purohita. In-as-much as this king appoints or institutes a Purohita, he institutes heavenly fires indeed (vâ) that gods may* eat his food.

A Purohita indeed becomes his Âhavanîya-fire, (his) wife, his Gârhapatya-fire, (and) (his) son, his Anvâhârya-pachana-fire. Whatever he does for the Purohita, that he sacrifices into the Âhavanîya-fire, now whatever he does for his wife, that he sacrifices into the Gârhapatya-fire, now whatever he does for his son, that he sacrifices indeed into the Anvâhârya-pachana-fire. These, satisfied (shântatanavah), sacrificed to, that is, propitiated, (and) gratified (abhipritâh), secure (for) him the heavenly world, the royal status, power, a kingdom, and subjects. These, not satisfied, not propitiated, and not gratified, deprive him of the heavenly world, of the royal status, of power, of his kingdom, and subjects. That who is Purohita is indeed the Vaishvânara-fire, carrying five thunderbolts. One thunderbolt is in his speech ; one, in his (two) feet ; one, in his skin ; one, in his heart ; one, in his organ of generation. By means of these, (in a state of) burning and shining, he approaches the king. Then he (the king) says :—Oh Lord, where have you been dwelling ? That is, what place do you come from ?—Bring for him a seat (triṇâni). By this the king pacifies the thunderbolt, that is in his (of the Purohita) speech. Now in-as-much

* The form Adan offered a difficulty to Dr. Martin Haug. But it is the imperfect tense, formed irregularly, and used as dictated by Pâṇini (III. 4, 6.) and (VI. 4, 75.) of his Sûtras.

fire: his children, the third fire: We will quote the passage as it is translated by Dr. Martin Haug:—

"Now about the office of a Purohita (house-priest). The gods do not eat the food offered by a king who has no house-priest (Purohita). Thence the king, even when (not) intending to bring a sacrifice, should appoint a Brâhmaṇa to the office of a house-priest."

"The king who (wishes) that the gods might eat his food, has, after having appointed a Purohita,

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as (the servants bring him water—good to wash and gratify his (of the Purohita) feet (pâdya)—he (the king) pacifies the thunderbolt, that is in his feet. Now, in-as-much as (the servants) adorn him (the Purohita), he (the king) pacifies the thunderbolt, that is in his skin; now, in-as-much as (the servants) propitiate him and gratify him (tarpayanti), (the king) pacifies the thunderbolt, that is in his heart; now, in-as-much as he resides in his palaces without any restraint, (the king) by that pacifies that thunderbolt which is in his organ of generation. He (the Purohita), satisfied, propitiated, and gratified, secures (for) him (the king) the heavenly world, the royal status, power, a kingdom, and subjects. And he (the Purohita) not satisfied, not propitiated, and not gratified, deprives him (the king) of the heavenly world, the royal status, power, his kingdom, and subjects."

Commentators try to transfer the description to the Vaishvânara-Agni, so often described in the Brâhmaṇa-literature, and so beautifully painted in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ—Vaishvânara mentioned in this passage. But this is wrong. The Purohita is the Vaishvânara itself: he is to be satisfied, propitiated, and gratified: he possesses the five-fold thunderbolt: he has the power of securing for a king every thing: he can deprive him of whatever be cherishes most. The Purohita or chaplain is thus exalted. No monk in the middle ages was more powerful or more honoured. See the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa (III. 7, 3, 2.) where the same statements are made. But they are not restricted to the Purohita or the chaplain, but extended to all Brâhmaṇas. Thus the circle of priests was enlarged: their pretensions were generally admitted: their worship was quietly acquiesced in: their power was great: and they influenced politics.

however, the use of the (sacred) fires, (without having actually established them), which lead to heaven, for the Purohita is his Âhavanîya-fire, his wife, the Gârhapatya, and his son, the Dakṣina-fire. When he does (anything) for the Purohita, then he sacrifices in the Âhavanîya-fire, (for the Purohita represents this fire). When he does (anything) for his wife, then he verily sacrifices in the Gârhapatya-fire, when he does (anything) for his son, then he verily sacrifices in the Dakṣina-fire. These fires (which are led by the Purohita) which are thus freed from their destructive power, (for the Kṣatriya, *i.e.*, they do not burn him) carry, pleased by the wish for sacrificing the Kṣatriya to the heaven-world, and (make him obtain) the royal dignity, bravery, a kingdom, and subjects to rule over. But if the Kṣatriya has no wish for sacrificing (by not appointing a Purohita), then the fires get displeased with him, and being not freed from their destructive power, throw him out of the heaven-world, (and deprive him) of the royal dignity, bravery, his kingdom and subjects over whom he rules."

"This Agni Vaishvânara, which is the Purohita, is possessed of five destructive powers; one of them, is in his speech, one in his feet, one in his skin, one in his heart, and one in the organ of generation. With these (five) powers, which are burning and blazing, he (Agni) attacks the king."

"By saying, 'where, O master, hast thou been residing (for so long a time)?' Servants, bring (Kusha) grass for him, the King propitiates the destructive power which is in Agni's speech. When

they bring water for washing the feet, then the king propitiates the destructive power which is in Agni's feet. When they adorn him, then he propitiates by it the destructive power which is in Agni's skin. When they satiate him (with food), then the king propitiates the destructive power which is in Agni's heart. When Agni lives unrestrained (at ease) in the king's premises, then he propitiates the destructive power which is in Agni's organ of generation. Agni, then, if all the destructive powers which are in his body have been propitiated and he is pleased by the king's wish for sacrificing, conveys him to the heaven-world, and (grants him) royal dignity, bravery, a kingdom, and subjects over whom he might rule. But should the king not do so, he will be deprived of all these gifts."

Thus the political revolution was completed. The warriors, idle, luxurious, ostentatious, and credulous, succumbed to the power of the priests who were exalted to the dignity of a sacred fire, and who were to be propitiated as such. Every Ksatriya-ruler had a Purohita.

Historical bearing of the revolution.

When political questions were discussed, and settled, the clergy derived secular advantages and fortified their position. The brave and capricious warriors were set aside. But prosperity is too powerful an agent, and its influence, though gradual and imperceptible, is too potent not to cause a reaction. The arrogance of the Brâhmaṇas, their exclusiveness, their contempt of the Ksatriyas and Vaishyas, and their pretensions to be gods

themselves, led, in process of time, to a rupture between the Ksatriyas and Brâhmaṇas, the first signs of which were apparent about this time. We will quote the story of Râma Mârgaveya.

"Vishvantara,[1] the son of Susadman, deprived the Shyâparṇas of their right of serving as his sacrificial priests, and interdicted any one of this family to take part in his sacrifice. Having learnt (that), they went to the place of his sacrifice and seated themselves within the precincts of the Vedi. On observing them, Vishvantara said (to his attendants)—'There sit those Shyâparṇas, the scoundrels,[2] who endeavour to sully another's fame. Turn them out, let them not sit in the Vedi.' The attendants obeyed and turned the Shyâparṇas out. They then cried aloud.—'When Janamejaya, the son of Pariksit, was performing a sacrifice without the Kâshyapas (who were his hereditary priests), then the Asitamṛigas from among the Kâshyapas, turned the Bhûtavîras[3] (who were officiating instead of the Kâshyapas) out, not allowing them to administer the Soma-rites.' They succeeded, because they had brave men with them. 'Well, what hero

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1 The passage shows that Brâhmaṇas had recourse to arms when they happened to quarrel with their lords—the rich sacrificers.

2 The chiefs spoke very disrespectfully of their priests. This shows that the priests had ceased to exercise real influence on the sacrificers, that their office had become hereditary, and that they had begun to assert themselves. Their insolence knew no bounds. This is the characteristic of the times of which we write.

3 This sort of dissension between the chief and his chaplain and his followers was common, for in the paragraph quoted, another instance is distinctly referred to.

is now among us, who might by force take away this Soma-beverage (that we might administer it ourselves)?' 'This your man am I'—said Râma Mârgaveya. This Râma belonged to the Shyâparnas, and had completed the sacred study. When the Shyâparnas rose to leave, then he said to the king.—'Will (thy servants), O king, turn out of the Vedi even a man (like me) who knows the sacred science?' (The king answered)—'O thou member of the vile Brâhmana-brood, whoever thou art, how hast thou any knowledge (of such matters)?'"

When the chieftains thus openly quarrelled with the Brâhmanas, the lower classes, whose minds are influenced by riches and social position, began to perceive that the sanctity of the sacrifice was more a means adopted by the clergy to secure secular prosperity and political influence. Their leaders attacked the sacrificial system by proposing new interpretations of the sacred Mantras of the Rik and Yajus Sanhitâs. The action of the opposition on the lower classes, the rise of new schools of philosophy, the many-sided activities of the successors of the Brahmavâdins, their speculations, their school-system, and their literary compositions, which consisted of such epics as the well-known Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata—all these constitute the Augustan age of the History of the Indian Âryas—the Âchârya-period—of which we will treat in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN ÂRYAS OR THE ÂCHÂRYA-PERIOD.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN ÂRYAS OR THE ÂCHÂRYA-PERIOD.

SECTION I.

THE FUSION OF THE ÂRYAS AND NON-ÂRYAS.

WE have already given the history of the Âryas, who occupied some Indian provinces, took possession of non-Âryan towns, and settled in the land of conquest. We have shown what effect a series of victories produced on them, when they found that the subjugation of the non-Âryan races afforded them leisure, and the means of luxuries and high life. In this chapter, we will trace the processes by which the distinction between Âryas and non-Âryas became faint, and by which the line of demarkation between the conquerors and the conquered could not be maintained. The luxurious Âryas began to lose ground : the non-Âryas made progress until at last social equilibrium was restored; when the one gradually ceased to possess exclusive privileges, and to be insolent, and

when the other rose to an equality with their conquerors and began to assert their rights and to retaliate.

The method of investigation.

The geological method only can be safely adopted in investigations of this nature: the known alone can throw light on the unknown: analogy can elucidate what is obscure. The Romans passed through three periods. They planned expeditions, fought battles, conquered distant countries, sacrificed their lives, and considered it the sole object of their ambition to triumph over their enemies. The whole nation inhabiting a small part of Italy in the valley of the Tiber energized in this way for some time. Opulence produced habits of luxury: luxury fostered indolence: and the restless warrior, once regardless of life itself, passed into a voluptuary who cared for show and small comforts of life. The description given by Gibbon of the degenerate Romans, passing the greater portion of their time in their magnificent baths, illustrates our statement. But in the mean time nationalities and tribes, decidedly inferior to the Romans, began to energize, to aspire after Roman honours, to obtain admission into a Roman municipium, and thus to elevate themselves. The same phenomena were repeated in the same way in India a few centuries ago. The Mahomedans conquered parts of India. The native races succumbed. The conquerors, naturally insolent and self-conceited, enjoyed for some time in luxury and insolence the fruits of their conquests, but the native races

like the Marâthas or the Sikhs, awakened from their torpor, systematized opposition to the conquerors. The British conquerors threaten to develop the same phenomena in the same sequence. In the same manner the ancient Âryas became voluptuous and degenerated, after they had triumphed over the aborigines.

Three Processes.

After the Brahmavâdins had taught the Âryas to direct their energy and wealth to the performance of elaborate sacrifices—under the circumstances, their only means of enjoyment and of the demonstration of their social position and prosperity, the non-Âryan races began to energize. Their exclusion from the sacrificial franchise, even when they possessed means and power, and their social degradation which they attributed to their not sacrificing or not living as the Âryas lived, and to their being forcibly prevented from adopting the manners and customs of the Âryas, produced a strong feeling of opposition, —such a feeling of opposition as gave a special turn and form to their actions, thoughts, and ambition. What is the origin and form of the social processes, by which the subjugated races are enabled to organize opposition and to elevate themselves? The question is important, when it is considered that there is the highest social stratum consisting of the conquering race, still proud of its exclusive privileges, still seeking to maintain its prestige, still aspiring after self-aggrandizement, still cherishing the memory of its past glory and supremacy, still

actively working in different departments of life, and still exerting intellectual and moral influence. From this powerful class whose social standing is recognized, whose authority and prestige are already established, and whose pretensions are sanctioned by custom and usage and acquiesced in by habit, the lower classes are separated by a social gulf. Armed with traditional power and religious sanctions, the highest class represents all social interests and regulates social economy. The lower classes, now depressed by the oppression to which they are subjected, and now encouraged by some powerful teacher to hope for better days, live on without organization of any kind. The history of the lower classes is, therefore, distinct from the history of the higher classes. We have thought it proper to give the history of the real Âryan society in a separate section, so that their social institutions, their philosophical and literary activities may be duly appreciated, and that the bearing of the lower classes on the consolidated Âryan society may be understood. The period of fusion always divides itself into two parts: the history of the literary and philosophical efforts which prosperity encourages, and the history of the efforts which the lower classes make to elevate themselves. We will dwell on the latter in this short section. The sources of our information are:—The Shatapatha-Brâhmaṇa, the ancient Upaniṣads—the true test of the age of an Upaniṣad being either its amalgamation with a Brâhmaṇa-work, or its recognized place in an established Âraṇyaka,—the Râmâyaṇa, and the Mahâbhârata—poetical works, which represent the theological, metaphysical, and literary sides of the

Âryas. We will indicate their chronology in the sequel. The examination of these works discovers three processes:—1. the elevation of the lower classes by intermarriages between genuine Âryas and non-Âryas, 2. their incorporation into the Âryan society by means of the extension of the franchise according to the Âryan ideal, and 3. social re-action by which the forms of life, and modes of thought and feeling of the highest class, are adopted. The action of these three processes gradually assumed the form of organized opposition to the privileged Âryas, and resulted in washing away the distinctive land-marks of the Vedic polity. Buddhism, opposed to all that the Vedic polity cherished most, was powerfully taught by its greatest and last prophet—Buddha Goutama. A contrast, between a Brahmavâdin of the period of Âryan prosperity and a stern self-sacrificing Buddhist of the period of the Lalita Vistâra, will not fail to discover the salient features of the opposition which the social processes generated, and the particular direction in which they acted. Generations of Buddhas exerted themselves on behalf of the lower classes.[1] A continued series of efforts were made. Centuries passed away before the last Buddha succeeded in organizing non-Âryan opposition. The law of social action and re-action will be explained by the contrast about to be presented:—a law which regulates social phenomena in every period of the history of the contact of two races, though, at first

[1] *Vide* the beginning of the Lalita-Vistâra.

sight, they appear disconnected and irregular in their sequence.

The Contrast.

Pâṇini gives a Sûtra which explains two terms :—Sangha and Utgha,[1]—the former expressive of a promiscuous crowd, and the latter meaning classes praised or the higher classes. In the literature antecedent to Pâṇini, the word Sangha appears to have been seldom or never used. Patanjali does not give its Buddhistic signification.[2] Thus the upper classes were distinguished from the lower classes by way of opposition. The one consisted of honorable men or *gentlemen* as the English express it, and the other was miscellaneous. The different principles of opposition were the growth, each perhaps of a generation. The Âryas considered the world to be stable and permanent:[3] the Sangha considered it to be transitory.[4] The Âryas aspired for heaven after death, its happiness was positively described to them, and the different

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[1] *Vide* the Pâṇinîyam (III. 3, 86.).

[2] See for instance the Mahâbhâṣya (IV. 1, 4.) page 58, Benares edition. "To a term expressive of a Kṣatriya, a termination in the sense of a king as against or for the pratiṣedha of Sangha."

[3] The Mîmânsakas or Brahmavâdins consider the world to be real, and the exertion of all his activities, the first duty of man.

[4] The earliest feeling of opposition as it can be discovered in a Brâhmaṇa-work is not the eternity of the spirit, but the stability of the material world. Such a feeling is betrayed in the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa. See the dialogues between an Âchârya and his pupil.

stages of heaven were frequently referred to:[1] the Sangha believed that their miseries recurred in a perpetual rotation: their souls transmigrated to endure new pains.[2] The Âryas attached special importance to the efficacy of sacrifices, and believed that any thing worldly, as well as heaven itself, could be secured by means of them:[3] the Sangha treated the sacrificial rites with particular contempt, the Lalita-Vistâra states that Mâra or Satan had become Indra, because he had frequently sacrificed.[4] The Âryas specially praised knowledge, and had regular educational institutions, and the initiation of a student elicited much interest in every family:[5] the Sangha considered ignorance as inevitable as fate itself, and attributed all their miseries to it; it sought austerities,[6] praised them, and complacently endured them. The Ârya, when educated and initiated, became a Brâhmaṇa: the non-Ârya, who had given up the pleasures of the world, became a

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1 The last but one hymn of the ninth Maṇḍala of the Ṛik-Sanhitâ is already quoted. Again, throughout the Aitareya and Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇas a sort of a secular heaven is described. *Vide* the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa, (III. 10, 9.)

2 *Vide* any of the ten Upanisads such as Muṇḍaka, Kena, Îsha, and others.

3 See the Kâmyeṣṭis explained at great length in the Brâhmaṇa-works.

4 *Vide* the Lalita-Vistâra.

5 *Vide* the Shatapatha-Brâhmaṇa.—the praises of Svâdhyâya or the college-curriculum.

6 See the (XXX. 5.) of the Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ—As Brahma or knowledge or learning specially characterizes the Brâhmaṇas, so *tapas* specially characterizes the Shûdras. *Tapas* during this period is mortification of the flesh. Compare this sense with that given in the poem in the first chapter of this essay.

Shramaṇa or monk. The Âryas sought happiness in actions and active life (Karma): the Sangha never understood the importance of active life, for it was snubbed and suppressed by the Âryas, whenever it acted; it attributed its miseries to the power of its activities (Karma and Upâdâna). The conquered races alone can realize what it is to be condemned for inactivity as well as for activity. The Âryas gradually began to value their war-songs which they had recognized as a revelation, and to take care of them:[1] the Sangha naturally detested them, and discarded the very idea of there being any revelation from gods such as the Vedas, which it ridiculed. The Âryas worshipped their gods and considered them all powerful: the Sangha reduced the gods to the condition of those who ministered to the will of their distinguished leaders as the gods waited upon their Bodhisatvas.[2] The Âryas considered their prestige to be the ruling principle of social economy: the Sangha necessarily and naturally took a higher position, it preferred truth and righteousness to caste.[3] The Âryan women took some part in a sacrifice in which their vanity was flattered, and by which they sought worldly benefits:[4] the Sangha-women sought the life of

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1 *Vide* the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa. (I. 2, 1., 26.) "Oh! house-hold-fire, protect my Mantra—that which the *Ṛishis*, well-versed in the three-fold learning, know to be the *Ṛik*, Sâma, and Yajus, because it is the eternal glory of the good (Âryas)." This passage is quoted in the introduction.

2 *Vide* the Lalita-Vistâra.

3 Ibid.

4 See for instance the Darsha or Pûrṇamâsesṭi.

nuns, giving up all enjoyments. The Âryas thought that their gods were kind to them, that they assisted them, that they took interest in the life of their worshippers, that nature was bountiful and cheerful, and that their soul was happiness itself: the Sangha considered the gods, nature, and their souls to be so many sources of misery. The Âryas inculcated special duties towards the higher classes, and attached importance to caste distinctions; no Brâhmaṇa was to be killed, but he was to be fed, to be clothed and to be honoured:[1] the Sangha inculcated universal benevolence.[2] The Âryas almost every day killed lower animals for the purpose of a sacrifice as well as of food:[3] the Sangha abhorred the idea of taking the life of any animal; Ahinsâ[4] was the first duty with it. The Âryas considered that they were the lords of the world:[5] the Sangha believed that man and lower animals could equally use what the earth produced. The Âryas boasted of their intellectuality, and pretended to be guided by the *Ṛisi* of reasoning:[6] the Sangha inculcated faith.[7] The Âryas believed

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1 The Brâhmaṇa-literature inculcates respect to the Brâhmaṇas.

2 The Lalita-Vistâra inculcates universal benevolence—it is the basis of Buddhism.

3 According to Pâṇini—a killer of a cow was the name of *a guest*. See (III. 4, 73.) of Pâṇini.

4 Ahinsâ—not taking life—is considered the first duty of a Shramaṇa—"ahinsâ paramo dharmah."

5 This feeling is plainly expressed in the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

6 *Vide* the Parishiṣṭa to Yâska's Nirukta.

7 The Lalita-Vistâra inculcates strongly faith or shraddhâ.

that Agni brought down gods to their altars, as their Brâhmaṇas represented to them on certain important occasions of life, that Agni always dwelt in their houses, that Vâyu ruled over the firmament, and that the sun was the lord of the heavens: the Sangha exercised their faith and realized that some of its leaders after undergoing a series of trials and mortifications of the flesh, returned to the earth and aided it. The Âryas changed their stand-point as circumstances required; they betrayed a tone of insolent confidence[1] at the time of the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa; in the Shatapatha-Brâhmaṇa the original stand-point of the *Ri*sis and the Brahmavâdins seems to have been lost, as interpretations, indefinite and rationalistic, were offered: the stand-point of the Sangha was fixed; their beliefs were firm, their aspirations were directed to their emancipation from the miseries of this life.

The circumstances which helped the Sangha.

The first three incarnations (avatâras) are mystical, and, though founded on some historical basis, cannot now afford any historical information. The story of the great deluge is the common ancestral heir-loom of the world. Though one of its versions is recited in the Shatapatha-Brâhmaṇa, it was known to the Âryas long before they sought a home in the Panjab. The stories or rather legends of the

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1 See (III. 7, 3, 2-3.) and (III. 7, 6, 5.) of the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa, "Oh, Gods! he who opposes (me) by sacrificial rites, by learning (our scriptures) in heart, and in desires, I cut off his head by the thunderbolt of Indra."

Kûrma or tortoise and the Varâha or hog can be analysed, and their rational basis may be discovered. The sacrificial cake (Puroḍâśha) is made in the form of a tortoise. In the Taittirîya-Âraṇyaka, it is said to have assumed the form of a tortoise, to have moved, and to have addressed a sacrificer. This affords a glimpse into the history of the highest class—the Brâhmaṇas. During the period of prosperity, they advanced pretensions, which were symbolized by the sacrificial cake: the Brâhmaṇas doubtless acquired a great power over the Ksatriyas by means of constantly promulgating sacrificial dicta, and of audaciously advancing claims to an origin directly from the supreme Brahma. The legend of the Varâha is an admixture of history and fiction. The sacrifice as performed by the Brâhmaṇas assumed the immense form of a cloud, symbolizing a sacrifice in all its parts ; and a non-Âryan ruler of the name of Hiraṇyâkṣa was humiliated. Varâha, according to Yâska, means a cloud. Hiraṇyâkṣa may mean a drought. The Brâhmaṇas pretended to control nature by means of their sacrifices. The Kârîrî[1]-sacrifice caused rain. When a dreadful drought raged in the Aryan settlements, the Brâhmaṇas perhaps predicted that it would rain and performed the Kârîrî-sacrifice. Their predictions were fulfilled, either because their observations of the phenomena of nature were accurate, or because an accident helped them. But the establishment and consolidation of their power, as distinct from that of the Ksatriyas, favoured

[1] See the Kârîrî-iṣṭi as described by Âshvalâyana in his Shrouta-Sûtra, (II. 13.) of the first part.

their pretensions and enlarged the sphere of their ambition. The process of organizing the aborigines and their leaders was developed. The son of Hiran*y*a-kashipu adopted the Âryan gods, the Âryan mode of life, and Âryan thoughts and feelings. Prahlâda was often asked by his father not to be denationalized, and not to sympathize with the alien Âryas, the hereditary foes of their race and creed. Some Brâhman*a*s perhaps had laid a plot for secretly despatching the father of Prahlâda, who was to be helped in mounting the throne. The incarnation of Nârasinha thus throws light on the politics of the Âryas, and especially of Brâhman*a*s during this period. The son brought under the Âryan influences was encouraged to rebel against his father. The Âryas gave substantial aid to the son. The father was killed: Âryan influence was thus increased. An influential and opulent native state was taken nominally under the protection of the Âryan power, but perhaps it was actually administered by the Âryas. The prestige and patronage of the Âryas were thus enlarged. Prahlâda was not treated justly. Promises made to him, when he entered into a conspiracy with the Âryan intriguers against his father, were not kept. The aborigines mustered strong under his grandson Bali,[1] who also had adopted the Âryan civilization. The Brâhman*a*s, assisted by thousands of the Âryas, intrigued against the power of Bali, whom his subjects often

[1] The incarnations up to that of Vâmana are described in the Hari-Vansha, Calcutta edition.

attempted to induce to wage war against the foreign settlers. The power of Bali was great. His preparations political and military, bade fair to make him the leading sovereign of ancient India. In the growth of his power, the Âryas saw a danger to their supremacy. At this time, the credulity of Bali was taken advantage of. A plot, the bearings of which cannot be realized, was laid. In the modern language of Europe, he was induced to sign a *protocol*. Bali was suppressed and supplanted. The paramountcy of the Âryas, as led by the Brâhmanas, was established. But the Ksatriyas were not totally humbled. The Ksatriyas perhaps aided the Brâhmanas in their intrigues. Nothing could be done without consulting the Purohitas. Under the name of advice, the Brâhmanas gave commands. The system of the appointment of the Purohitas, when developed, aided the Brâhmanas who never sought the mere pageants of power. A Râjâ was a sovereign in whose name all transactions were performed. But the Brâhmana wielded the real power. Prahlâda came to see the bearings of this political system, for he seriously advised Bali to consider before he made up his mind to grant the request of Vâmana. Bali was perhaps in a difficulty. If he granted the request, his ambition of being the suzerain of the land would be checked. If he declined it, his prestige would be affected. At last, though dissuaded by his Brâhmana councillor, Shukra, and by his grand-father, Prahlâda, who in his old age understood Brahmanic politics well, Bali granted the request of Vâmana, and the Âryas under the leadership of Brâhmana-advisers triumphed. Bali

was suppressed. Thus Hiraṇyâkṣa, Hiraṇyakashipu, and Bali fell victims to the intrigues of Âryan politicians; not a drop of blood was shed: no war was waged. By diplomacy, carefully adapted to particular cases, the Âryan sovereigns undermined the power of the rulers of the aborigines.[1] But the Râjâs did not like to be ruled by their Brâhmaṇa-advisers. They saw that the real power was with the intriguing Purohitas; that they were mere tools in their hands; that on all occasions of ceremonies, and in all places where their personal presence was required, they were merely shown; that their subjects did not respect them, as their pleasure or displeasure was not followed by any consequences; that the palaces of Purohitas were the real centres of all power; and that no Brâhmaṇa could be mal-treated by any Ksatriya with impunity. The crisis came. Jamadagni, a Brâhmaṇa of reputation, was at first insulted, and then killed, by an impulsive Ksatriya youth. Hundreds of Ksatriyas sympathized with the youth. In many palaces the Purohitas were insulted. The political constitution of the Âryas was overthrown. Parashurâma waged a dreadful war against the Ksatriyas. The Brâhmaṇas triumphed. But the political intrigues, the discord between the Ksatriya-rulers and the Brâhmaṇa-councillors, and the civil dissensions between two powerful Âryan classes, aided the cause of the Sangha, enlarged their minds

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[1] The word *Vâmana* is used in the sense of *intellect* in the Kathopanisad. (II. 5, 3.). The whole of the Kathopanisad is interesting as it exalts Âtmâ and preaches Yoga.

and communicated a new impulse to their ambition. Many of the lower Âryanized classes took part perhaps with the one party or the other. At one time the spell of the sanctity and the power of Brâhmaṇas was broken: at another time, the spell of the valour of the Ksatriyas was broken. These circumstances could not but contribute to the advance of the lower classes, who quietly followed peaceful pursuits, but whose faith in the Vedic polity was shaken. Humbled at home and distracted by the civil dissensions, the Ksatriyas planned an expedition into the South. The aboriginal tribes were enlisted, and trained to fight. The Âryas freely associated with the non-Âryas. Râma triumphed over Râvaṇa, and the Âryas were enriched. Áryan colonies were established in the South.[1] The Sangha or the lower classes accompanied the enterprising Âryas in this expedition. Its status was improved: its resources were enlarged: its wealth increased: a foreign expedition is always beneficial to the lower classes, who, being impoverished, are starved at home. Those of the Sangha, who followed the camp of Râma, returned rich, strong and well informed. But their prosperity was helped by the dreadful civil dissensions between the Ksatriyaṣ themselves—the wars of the Mahâbhârata-period.

The three processes illustrated.

The Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa indicates the direction in which the educated leaders of the Âryas sought

1 The colony of the Pândya at Madura (Mathura) in the South.

to assert their claims and to secure privileges. A legend of the *Ri*sis sacrificing on the banks of the Sarasvatî is narrated. But the learning of Kava*s*a-Ailûsa, a Shûdra, put the Brâhma*n*as to shame. He was admitted to the sacrifice. In this legend, an extraordinary and supernatural explanation of the admission of Kava*s*a-Ailûsa is given. The feelings of the ordinary Âryas of the time did not sanction it. Those who were not Brâhma*n*as were insolently excluded from a sacrifice—the form of demonstrating one's social status, and the mode of obtaining social distinction. But the operation of natural laws and their inevitable effect could not be prevented. Intermarriages—between the Âryas and the Shûdras, Ko*l*is, and other aborigines—were frequent. The class of what the Americans contemptuously style *Mulattoes*, *quadroons*, and *octoroons* multiplied. The Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ considers the growth of the mixed classes an evil, and condemns it.[1] But the mixed classes gradually acquired a power and an influence in the state. At the time of the Mahâbhârata, such great men as Vyâsa—perhaps the great poet and historian—and Vidura—the philosopher and influential statesman—were the offspring of the connection of the Âryas with the aborigines. Satyavatî, a daughter of a Ko*l*i-chieftain, was seen by Shantanu in a boat. Her beauty made a strong impression on his mind. Shantanu sought her hand. Her father was induced to permit the marriage of his daughter with the Âryan prince;

1 *Vide* (XXIII. 30 and 31.) of the Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ which mentions a Shûdra to be a lover of an Ârya-woman.

but he stipulated that the kingdom should be inherited by his grandsons, the children of Satyavatî, and that the children of her rival, Gangâ, should be excluded from the inheritance. Bhîsma, the son of Gangâ, the elder queen, vowed that he would never marry, and that he would never aspire after the throne. Bhîsma fulfilled his vow scrupulously, and died a bachelor. The son of Satyavatî died without any issue. Satyavatî called Vyâsa, her natural son at this juncture, and he lived with Ambikâ and Ambâlikâ, now young and beautiful. Under these circumstances, Dhritarâstra, Pându, and Vidura were born. Ambikâ, who avoided Vyâsa, sent in her maid to him at night. Thus Vidura had Vyâsa for his father, and a maid-servant for his mother. These instances may be multiplied. But it is not necessary. No stain attached to intermarriages between the Âryas and the aborigines. Bhîma married Hidimbâ. Arjuna married a Nâga-girl called Ulûpi. A class of Âryas called Upakrista was created. Upakrista means those drawn close, and they were admitted to the privilege of performing a sacrifice.[1] There were many who did not know their ancestors. The Shûdra was first declared to be a part of Âryan society,[2] though the lowest and the meanest. His status as a mere slave was recognized. The Taittirîya-Brâhmana admits him into the house of an Ârya, but prevents him from milking sacrificial cows.[3] This is the first glimpse of the improvement

1 See Kâtyâyana and Âshvalâyana-Shrouta-Sûtras.

2 See the celebrated hymn called the Purusa-Sûkta.

3 *Vide* (III. 2, 3, 9.) of the Taittirîya-Brâhmana.

of his position. But the Shatapatha-Brâhmaṇa admits him into society and sanctions his performing a sacrifice.[1] Thus the Shûdras were incorporated with the Âryas during this period. The Niṣâdas were an aboriginal tribe. They were sometimes included in the Pancha-janâh—the five-fold Âryas. Yâska gives the opinions of different schools of thinkers—the philo-Niṣâdas and anti-Niṣâdas. Gradually the Niṣâdas were incorporated.[2] Their status was recognized. They could perform sacrifices.[3] Even at the present day, some Hindus deny that they belong to a low caste, when they agitate the question of their social status, and assume the name of coach-builders (rathakâras), who were also incorporated with the Âryan society.[4] The process of re-action worked in its own way. Its operation is more indicated than distinctly stated. In the Shânti-parva, some account of a Dasyu-prince is given. A Brâhmaṇa youth settled in his estate and degenerated. When another Brâhmaṇa discovered him, he seriously found fault with the Brâhmaṇa-youth, and pointed out to him how he had become a Dasyu. Yet the Dasyu-prince is characterized as Brahmaṇya, or one who had adopted Brahmanical institutions. Pâṇini[5] lays down a rule as to accenting such

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[1] *Vide* (I. 1, 4, 12.) and (XIII. 8, 3, 11.) of the Shatapatha-Brâhmaṇa.

[2] The Niṣâdapati-nyâya as developed in the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ brings together all the literature on this subject.

[3] *Vide* (I. 1, 12.) Sûtra of the Kâtyâyana-Shrouta-Sûtra. See the Niṣâdapati-nyâya in the Mîmânsâ of Jaimini, the 6th Adhyâya.

[4] See the Kâtyâyana or Âṣhvalâyana-Shrouta-Sûtra, and the sixth Adhyâya of the Mîmânsâ of Jaimini.

[5] *Vide* (VI. 2, 58.) of Pâṇini.

words as Ârya-Brâhmana, and implies that there were non-Ârya-Brâhmanas also. The comments of Patanjali are not plain enough. Yet the instances given in the Mahâbhârata appear to us at least to support our view. Thus the three processes—intermarriages, incorporation and re-action among the aboriginal tribes—produced a result which foreboded a revolution, as it created a society which aspired after equality with the real Âryas, and which, separated from the upper classes, and often reminded of its low origin by the insolent Âryas, sullenly worked on until sullenness became natural with it. At this time, some of the Ksatriyas and many of the lower classes abandoned the pleasures of this life, and sought to rise superior to the flesh and its temptations. The Âtmavid (philosopher) pretended to be superior to the Mantra-vid[1] (a theologian). The laws of the Vedic polity were set at defiance. Young men, no matter to what caste or class they belonged, hastened to those who had set themselves up as teachers.[2] Metaphysical questions were asked boldly, and as boldly they were answered. Jâbâli actually did not know who his father was. He was considered to be a real Ârya because he spoke the truth. Thus we have attempted the history of the lower classes of society. The sources of information on this subject are always limited. The doings of the great are carefully recorded, and

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1 *Vide* Mundopnisad—(I. 1, 5.). This distinction is the basis of the Upanisad-literature.

2 Read the story of Jâbâli in the Chhândogyopnisad.

the poor and the low are neglected. In the next sections, we shall give the history of the real Âryas and their aspirations.

Intellectual and moral condition of the people.

The sacrifice, which generated the feeling of the mysterious in the *Ri*sis, and inspired them with that devotion which they expressed in melodious lyrics—the sacrifice which the Brahmavâdins considered to be the means of securing any worldly or spiritual blessing from the gods—the sacrifice, the characteristic feature of the Vedic polity, had now lost its hold on the minds of the common people—the Sangha. The philosophers of the forests[1] spiritualized it away. The popular bards sang against it.[2]

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[1] The thinkers mentioned in the Âra*n*yaka-literature.

[2] The following is an interesting passage from the Vana-parva of the Mahâbhârata, as it throws light on the condition of the Âryas of this time. We will give the translation of the passage by Dr. Muir, as it is at once lucid and correct. See his Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I., page 134. "The Serpent said: 'Who may be a Brâhma*n*a? and what is the thing to be known? O Yudhi*sth*ira;—tell me, since by thy words I infer thee to be a person of extreme intelligence.' Yudhi*sth*ira replied. 'The Sm*r*iti declares, O chief of Serpents, that he is a Brâhma*n*a, in whom truth, liberality, patience, virtue, innocence, austere fervour, and compassion are seen.'

'And the thing to be known is the Supreme Brahma, free from pain, as well as from pleasure,—to whom, when men have attained, they no longer sorrow. What is your opinion?' The Serpent replied: 'The Veda (Brahma) is beneficial to all the four castes, and is authoritative and true. And so we find in Shûdras also truth, liberality, calmness, innocence, harmlessness, and compassion. And as for the thing to be known, which is free from pain and pleasure, I perceive, that there is no other thing free from these two influences.' Yudhi*sth*ira rejoined: 'The qualities characteristic of a Shûdra

The popular stories ridiculed it. Though the first three classes, the Brâhmaṇas, Ksatriyas, and Vaishyas are mentioned with respect, and though the sacrifice is deemed an Âryan rite, yet the Dasyus are not excluded, and their pretensions are recognized, and yet often truth and good conduct are extolled above a sacrifice. The upper classes mooted strange questions about the destiny of man. Different thinkers pointed to different principles as the essence of mind and matter. What the particular essence was, no body knew, and no body declared positively. The same Mantra of

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do not exist in a Brâhmaṇa (nor *vice versâ*). (Were it otherwise) the Shûdra would not be a Shûdra, nor the Brâhmaṇa, a Brâhmaṇa. The person, in whom this regulated practice is perceived, is declared to be a Brâhmaṇa ; and the man, in whom it is absent, should be designated as a Shûdra. And as to what you say further, that there is nothing other than this (Brahma) to be known, which is free from the susceptibilities in question ; this is also (my own) opinion, that there is nothing free from them. Just as between cold and heat, there can be neither heat nor cold, so there is nothing free from the feeling of pleasure and pain. Such is my view ; or how do you consider ?' The Serpent remarked :—'if a man is regarded by you as being a Brâhmaṇa only in consequence of his conduct, then birth is vain until action is shown.' Yudhisṭhira replied. 'O most sapient Serpent, birth is difficult to be discriminated in the present condition of humanity on account of the confusion of all castes.'" "*All (sorts of) men are continually begetting children on all (sorts of) women.*" The Italics are ours. We are much indebted to Dr. Muir, who has laboriously and intelligently brought together those passages from the ancient Sanskrit literature which bear on the fusion of Âryan and non-Âryan races. His first volume deserves an attentive perusal. We have not reproduced his statements, but in our humble way, we have given such additional facts as also bear upon the fusion of the conquering and conquered races in ancient India.

the Ṛik-Sanhitâ was interpreted in two or three different ways at the same time. Philosophical secularism was preached by some with an enthusiasm which could not but make a deep expression on the common people, for they could understand its positions, and their worldly conduct, so natural and so real, was flattered and encouraged. Philosophical quietism was preached with a vehemence which moved the feelings of hundreds, for they appreciated the doctrine of the transitoriness of the world, and the vanity of human hopes—feelings so natural and so real. The conduct of the Âryas who preached the Vedic polity and contradicted it by their practices, puzzled the mind of the common people who told strange stories about the leaders of the Âryas. Vishvâmitra is said to have eaten the flesh of a dog belonging to a Châṇḍâla, whose religious inquiries may be well styled philosophical questions.[1] The same was the condition of political principles. Such principles, as a Machiavel would learn with a new zeal, are taught. The king may adopt any means, however wicked, when his interests are concerned. Yet political principles, which a civilized nation in modern times may safely adopt, are inculcated on the Ksatriya princes, political principles—the purity, disinterestedness, and magnanimity of which produce feelings of admiration and esteem—the most prominent of them being that the good of the masses is the chief end of a polity. The Âryas were generally flippant and fond of ease and luxury.

1 *Vide* the Shânti-parva of the Mahâbhârata.

The Sangha was serious and disposed to reflect on the events of this life. The latter sought the peace which the contemplation of Brahma could produce. Men as well as women lived rather freely. The followers of different thinkers characterized each other as irreligious and mean. Society had lost its stand-point. Bodies of people veered from one religious opinion or feeling to another. When a preacher addressed them on a doctrine of philosophical secularism,—the system of Brihaspati, whose followers were known as Châryâkas on account of their bewitching eloquence,—the common people extolled him and assented to his statements with one voice. When another preacher addressed them on a doctrine of philosophical quietism,—the system of the thinkers of the forests, whose followers were known as Shramaṇas on account of their austerities,—the people extolled him and assented to his statements with one voice. Such a picture is beautifully painted perhaps by one who belonged to the common people, but who could think for himself:—A[1] jackal and a vulture address the relations of a boy whose corpse was taken to a forest to be disposed of. Sullen, quiet, always taking a high ground, or soaring in the higher regions of metaphysics, thoughtful, not much concerned in the affairs of this world, seldom seen as engaged in active life, seldom talkative, and absorbed perhaps in the feeling of universal benevolence, a philosophical ascetic is represented by a vulture. Full of tricks and wiles, intent upon

1 The story is narrated in the Shânti-parva of the Mahâbhârata.

seeking his own interest, commanding a power of great eloquence, apt at illustrating nicely his statements, worldly in all his feelings, working in the positive fields of what is useful, a philosophical secularist is represented by a jackal. The poor people, dejected and sorrowing, gather round the corpse of the youth. Now persuaded by the vulture to leave the dead body and return to their houses before the sun sets, the poor people shed tears, and begin to re-trace their steps, when the jackal condemns the advice given by the vulture, and tells the relatives to wait till the sun sets, for says he—"who knows? the youth may yet revive: the world is important: its affections are pure: its attachment is real." Now persuaded by the eloquence of the jackal, the poor funeral-procession returns to the forest, and once more gathers round the dead body, shedding tears anew, and believing that the dead body may revive. The vulture again addresses them on the vanity of their hopes, expostulates with them on their folly, points out that it is the lot of humanity to die, and that those once dead can never revive. The poor people are influenced to return home and leave the dead body in the forest. But the jackal gives assurances, points out the wisdom of their watching over the dead body till the evening, and inveighs against his opponent, the vulture. Bhîsma moralizes on this story, and observes, that this is the condition of the people who are alternately swayed by self-interested teachers like the jackal and the vulture, but who can be relieved by God alone. Such stories were popular. The people could be

influenced by any body, no matter what his doctrines were, provided he could put his case properly and deliver his sentiments eloquently. Such a condition of the audience forebodes a great revolution.

Section II.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ÂCHÂRYA-PERIOD.

In giving the history of the movements of the genuine Âryas as distinguished from the Sangha, we begin with their philosophy, because this department of knowledge engrossed the attention of the Âryas, whose leaders were busily engaged in reaping the harvest of the seed sown by the *Ri*sis and Brahmavâdins, and stowing it away. The Âchâryas systematized the materials accumulated before them, enlarged and generalized them.

The philosophical period divided.

Âshvalâyana, a theologian, and Pâ*n*ini, a grammarian, are pre-eminently the representative thinkers of this period, which consists of three parts—that in which original thinkers like Pâ*n*ini flourished, that in which scholasticism was enthusiastically cultivated by scholars like Kâtyâyana, and that in which philosophical exegetists like Patanjali brought penetration of vision, depth of thought, and dialectical acumen to bear upon the works of authors like Pâ*n*ini. Hence it is important to investigate the system of Pâ*n*ini at some length.

The system of Pâṇini: the definition-method.

The elements of the definition-method may be divided into two classes:—(*a*) essential and (*b*) instrumental. Now, (*a*) comprises I. Utsarga; II. Apavâda; III. Nipâtana; IV. Pratisedha; V. Anubandha. (*b*), I. Sanjnâ; II. Paribhâsâ; III. Adhikâra. The subject of a proposition called Utsarga is a fictitious genus[1] created by Pâṇini, of which the subject of an Apavâda is a species[1] and a Nipâtana is an individual. An Utsarga is not a general rule as used in modern books, for the latter really applies to many particular cases from which it rises; while an exception seeks to explain only a few cases, though different in mere form, yet falling under the same category. On the contrary, Pâṇini's Utsarga, when its Apavâdas are brought to bear upon it, may apply only to a few cases, and its Apavâdas may include more individual cases than the Utsarga under which they are stated.[2] The conditions of an Utsarga and a general rule are thus reversed. An Utsarga is not, therefore, a general rule; nor an Apavâda, an exception. In short, the phraseology of European treatises cannot

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[1] See the Paspashâhnika of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya, "kim punastadutsargâpavâdou, kashchidutsargah, kashchidapavâdah, katham jâtiyakah punarutsargah kartavyah, katham jâtiyakopavâdah, sâmânyenotsargah kartavyah, vishesato-pavâdah." The *Rig*veda Prâtishâkhyam calls "utsarga" "nyâya" and thus propounds its system:—"Nyâyairmishrânapavâdân pratîyât sarvashâstrârtham pratikan*tha*muktam."

[2] *Vide* Pâṇini (6. 1, 87.) for illustrating this statement.

be applied to the Pâninîyam. In a modern treatise, an exception is tolerated only as a matter of sheer necessity. The Pâninîyam revels in Apavâdas. But an Apavâda in the Pâninîyam limits[1] the application of its Utsarga, and appears at first sight to have the nature of an exception. When properly interpreted, an Apavâda may be said to be opposed to its Utsarga, for (*a*) the relation between these two is that of a species to its genus; (*b*) a genus and a species are believed to be as real as an individual example itself, and (*c*) a species again is a real entity which possesses some properties in addition to, and different from, those of a genus. Hence two real entities, thus distinguished from each other, cannot apply at the same time to the same object. The same is true, again, of an individual example (Nipâtana). A Pratisedha[2] is a negation as such when an Utsarga or an Apavâda is likely to apply. It has the nature as well as the force of an exception. It leaves room for the Utsarga when it applies to an Apavâda, or marks total exclusion when it refers to an Utsarga.[3] On the subject of an Anubhandha, it is not necessary to enlarge here. (*b*) I. Sanjnâ. Pânini's definitions (Sanjnâh) are not like those of Euclid. Though

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1 *Vide* Patanjali's remarks (1. 1, 3.) "Yathotsargena prasaktasyâpavâdo bâdhako bhavati."

2 See Patanjali's remarks on "Sarvâdîni sarvanâmâni"—"atha kah pratisedho nâma, avisesena kinchiduktvâ visesena netyuchyate, tatra vyaktamâchâryasyâbhiprâyo gamyate idam na bhavatîti."

3 (8. 4, 37.), a Sûtra of Pânini, is Apavâda of (4. 3, 120.), to which (4. 3, 130.) is a Pratisedha. Therefore, the termination of (4. 3, 126.) has force in the case of the Pratisedha. Again (8. 4, 37.) is a total negation.

highly abstract and ideal, those of the latter are real, while those of the former are his own creations.[1] The meaning of the word "Sanjnâ" requires to be considered here, for it is often used in the Pâninîyam.[2] II. There are two species of Paribhâsâ:—1. Those which apply to the whole of the Pâninîyam, and are therefore general.[3] And

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1 *Vide* Mill's Logic, Vol. I., pages 162 and 163, a general discussion about definitions.

2 On collating the word "Sanjnâ" as used by Pânini in his Pâninîyam, where we have found it in 81 Sûtras, it appears that Sanjnâ is equivalent to a conventional meaning. In the translation of the Prâkrita Prakâsha of Vararuchi, Section II., Sûtra 45, "Sanjnâyâm vâ," Cowell renders the word Sanjnâ by a name; but Bhâmaha, a commentator, confines it to proper names only. The question now is, whether Sanjnâ is a technical name, a proper name, or a common name. Pânini is decisive. He uses it thus—the sense fixed by popular usage as distinguished from its etymological sense. For example, "mâksikam" applies to honey only, and not to every thing made by bees. In giving the Gana "Pâraskaraprabhritînicha." (6. 1, 157.) of Pânini, where Sanjnâ comes to bear, of course, he mentions proper names as well as common names in the Ganapâtha, and includes taskara, brihaspati, as determined by a subordinate Sûtra, "tadbrihatoh karapatyoshchoradevatayoh sut talopashcha." What is the differential characteristic of Sanjnâ then? We believe it to be "convention." Our grounds are:—1. In the Aitareya Brâhmana, the verb Sanjnâ occurs in the sense of agreeing. See. 27th Khanda, 4th Panchikâ, where "yachchhandânsi vyûhatîmou vai lokou sahâstâm tou vyaitâm nâvarsam na samatapatte panchajanâ na samajânata." 2. Kanâda uses it in (2. 1, 19.) in the sense of a name in general. Shankara Mishra, in his commentary on the same, brings in "ishvarasanketatah." 3. *Vide* Goutama (3. 1, 17.). See Vâtsyâyana's commentary (1. 1, 13), where "Sanjnâ-shabdaih prithagupadesho bhûtânâm vibhaktânâm suvacham kâryam bhavisyati." 4. *Vide* Patanjali's discussion on Sanjnâ in his comment on (1. 1, 1.) of Panini. 5. *Vide* again Kanâda (7. 2, 20.), where a general doctrine of the origin of words is given.

3 *Vide* Pânini (1. 1, 65, 66, 67.).

2. Those whose application is restricted to one Adhikâra or more.[1] A Paribhâsâ of Pâṇini requires to be distinguished from any general Paribhâsâ met with in the Mahâbhâsya. The first affords a key to the system of the Pâṇinîyam itself, and helps a reader in its interpretation.[2] III. Adhikâra. On collating the Sûtras of Pâṇini and Goutama in which this word occurs, and on comparing it with its correlate, "Adhikaraṇa," we believe that an Adhikâra exactly corresponds to the heading of a paragraph in modern books. Again, this heading (Adhikâra) may be given by itself, or may form a part of the first sentence in the paragraph, that is, of the first Sûtra. Thus Pâṇini divides his Pâda as well as an Adhyâya into so many paragraphs.[3] We will make a few general

1 *Vide* Pâṇini (3. 1, 92, 94.).

2 More of Paribhâsâ in general hereafter.

3 With regard to the meaning of "Adhikâra, Pâṇini himself is explicit. See (4. 3, 87.) "Adhikṛitya kṛite granthe." The stock-example of this Sûtra also supports the view in the text. Vararuchi Kâtyâyana opens his chapters of Prâkṛita-Prakâsha with "Paishâchî," "Mâgadhî." His chapter and Adhikâra are often co-extensive. *Vide* his first chapter. Again, the chapter itself is named from the predominating Adhikâra in it. When miscellaneous Adhikâras come together in one chapter, the last is named Sankîrṇa. Goutama uses the word in the same sense. *Vide* his (4. 1. 61.). *Vide* also Vâtsyâyana's comment on the same. "That which rules" is the etymological sense of "Adhikâra." When applied to a book, it must mean the "ruling subject," *i.e.*, "heading of a paragraph." Cowell adopts its etymological meaning, "supposed to exercise authority." *Vide* 107th page of his Translation of Prâkṛita-Prakâsha. *Vide* Goldstücker on Pâṇini pages 47, 48. *Vide* Pâṇini (5. 3, 43.) for his use of the word "Adhikaraṇa." Again, Goutama uses it in his (1, 1, 27, 30.) It means the subject treated of. Shrîsûryanârâyaṇa, at the commencement of his commentary on Vyâsa-shikṣâ, says—"Athavâdhikârârthotha shabdah." "Most of the Sanskrit works open with *atha*."

remarks. Though Pâṇini generalizes linguistic facts, and founds his Utsarga on them, yet he calls to his aid the definition-method, in conformity with which he sees an Utsarga as an independent and a real entity by itself, *i.e.*, without any reference to the examples which can be formed according to it, or from which it rises. This done, he proceeds to show its application or non-application. A general rule (vyâpti of our logicians) is not an Utsarga of Pâṇini. To recapitulate and sum up, the essence of his method lies in laying down large fictitious propositions, and then limiting their application by particular rules and non-application by negative propositions. The definition-method, we have already observed, combines the inductive as well as the hypothetical methods.[1] The highly accurate but artificial nomenclature[2]

[1] An illustrative example may be thus stated—Sarvanâma is a grammatical name. Its definition, founded on the meaning of the name itself, is "that which is for every name." Pâṇini, however, gives no definition of this part of speech as based on its essential or characteristic properties, but lays down that the name "Sarvanâma" applies to such words as undergo certain grammatical changes. These changes constitute "Sarvanâmatva," *i.e.*, Patanjali on (1. 1, 7.) thus:—"Sarveśâm yâni nâmâni tâni sarvâdîni." But this is peculiar to Pâṇini. *Vide* his (1. 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.). Again after defining a "prâtipadika" Pâṇini gives rules for shortening as well as for dropping its last vowels under certain circumstances. These additional Sûtras appear to be out of place at first sight; but they only point out the application of the name "prâtipadika," when the words included in the category are shortened or mutilated.

[2] Pâṇini (1. 1, 27, 45, 54, 65, 66, 69.) are examples of his nomenclature. This appears to be based on different principles. 1. The names like "Sârvadhâtuka" and "Ârddhadhâtuka" have a meaning. 2. The names like *lit*, *let*, &c., are meaningless,—perhaps original creations of Pâṇini,—the letters "l," "*t*," and others serving a certain purpose.

and notation[1] of Pâṇini, supplemented by his definition-method, enabled him to accomplish the arduous task of developing a system which combines the elements[2] of philology and philo-

[1] The Sûtra of Pâṇini (1. 2, 64.) throws sufficient light on his method of notation. Its wording is :—"Sarûpâṇâmekashesa ekavibhaktou." The same method prevails at present. Take for illustration the form "avochat."

va + ch is the original root. (vacha in his dhâtu-pâṭha).
va + ch + luñ=va+ch+chli+t. (3. 2, 110.), (3. 1, 43.), (3. 4, 78.).
va + ch + añ=va + cha + t. (3. 1, 52.).
va + u (m) + cha=vo + cha + t. (7. 4, 20.), (6. 1, 87.).
a + vo + cha + t=avochat. (6. 4, 71.)

Now *um* by the nomenclature of Pâṇini joins *va* in preference to *cha*. With regard to resolving vacha into va + cha, Pataujali's testimony will do. He interprets the Vaishesika category—samavâya, when applied to a word as the constant relation between its different letters. "atha kah samavâyah varṇânâmânupûrvyeṇa sanniveshah" *Vide* the same elsewhere quoted.

[2] Bopp com. gram. para. 12 : "The aspirates of different organs are easily exchanged with each other ;" Pâṇini (8. 2, 32, 33.), (7. 3, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.). Bopp com. gram. para. 14 "pachâmi" in Sanskrit becomes "coquo" in Latin ; Pâṇini (8. 2, 30.), (7. 4, 62.). Bopp com. gram. para. 17, the interchange of *da* and *la* ; Pâṇini (8. 2, 74, 75.), (8. 4, 60.). Bopp com. gram. para. 23, about the different changes of *ha* in the cognate languages ; Pâṇini (8. 2, 31, 34, 35, 72.), (8. 3, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39.), (8, 2, 32, 34.). Bopp com. gram. para. 35 Khudâ, god, Khvâb, Svâpa, Khuvâhir, Svasṛi ; Pâṇini (8. 2, 41, 62.). Bopp com. gram. para. 41, *ha=sa* ; Pâṇini (8. 3, 34.). Bopp com. gram. para. 42, 1. *ya=ha* (sometimes) ; Pâṇini (7. 4, 62.) "kuhoshchuh ;" hence *ha=ja*, but *ja=ya*, therefore *ya=ha*. Bopp com. gram. para. 87 ; Pâṇini (8. 4, 55.). Bopp. com. gram. para. 88 and 93 ; Pâṇini (8. 2, 39), (8. 4, 53). Bopp com. gram., paras. 88. 91, 93, 100, the process of assimilation, displacement, and substitution are spoken of ; but Pâṇini is the first father of this language. Bopp com. gram. para. 94 ; Pâṇini (8. 3, 2, 30). Bopp com. gram. para. 102 ; Pâṇini 8. 2, 23, 24. Bopp's remarks largely apply to cognate languages, while Pâṇini's, to the Sanskrit language only ; but this does not affect the statement that Pâṇini is the first philologer.

sophy[1] of grammar in general, with every possible detail of the Sanskrit language. The way in which Pâṇini views his Utsarga[2] and its Apavâda is elucidated by the fact that the characteristic mark pitched upon and recognized by the definition-method, admits of the processes of substitution (âdesha) and disappearance (lopa).[3]

What is special about the generalizations of Pâṇini?

The generalizations of Pâṇini may be classified thus: (*a*) False and (*b*) True—the latter being subdivided into (*a*) artificial and (*b*) scientific. (*a*) "Ugitashcha[4]" is an example of the first kind. It states that wherever *uk* as *it* occurs, there *ñîp* is added on, *ñîp* being brought in by the conjunctive particle—*cha*. That is, on examining so many nouns ending in *î* called *ñîp* for particular reasons

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1 Bopp bases his system of comparative grammar on the divisions, classifications, principles of divisions, and general definitions of important grammatical terms of the Pâṇiniyam. His grammar bears testimony to the revolution which the study of Sanskrit grammar has wrought among European philologers.

2 Patanjali speaks of a general rule coming to bear, but prevented by another rule from doing so. The first applies, but the second says "no; there is no room for you here." *Vide* his remarks on (3. 2, 10.). The general rule is so real.

3 *Vide* Pâṇini (7. 1, 89, 91, 93, 94.). All such Sûtras exhibit the definition-method as affected by analogy. A general definition is sometimes considered by Pâṇini to be a type in which certain forms inhere. Hence words assuming these forms, are artificially made to belong to the type. For example, the ending "an" (technically called "anañ" in some cases) of words like "râjan" is the type; the changes given in the Sûtras (6. 4. 53, 148.), and (8. 2, 7.) are the forms.

4 *Vide* Pâṇini (4. 1, 6.).

by Pâṇini, these two properties *uk*[1] and *ñîp* are found to co-exist. This relation, being found to be constant, is stated as a general rule. This rule would be a correct and scientific general proposition, if both the properties already mentioned, belonged really to the many cases of feminine nouns examined. But such is not the case. *Uk* is a fictitious property created and added on by Pâṇini to every noun which forms its feminine by taking *ñîp*. Shatṛi,[2] matup,[3] kvasuh,[4] îyasun,[5] &c., are the names of different terminations for the formation of present participles, nominal adjectives of quality, perfect participles, and of what is called the comparative degree of adjectives. This list, imperfect as it is, includes almost every variety of grammatical forms. Now *ri* or *u*[6] in all these

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1 *Vide* our note on Anubandha further on.

2 *Vide* Pâṇini (3. 2, 124.).

3 *Vide* Pâṇini (5. 2, 94, 95.).

4 *Vide* Pâṇini (3. 2, 107.).

5 *Vide* Pâṇini (5. 3, 57.)

6 Such contrivances are called Anubandha. They are more than a mere technical terminology. They are what we have called in the text artificial generalizations. The particle "anu," which means "after," occurs in "anumâna" or anugama" and other similar words. "anumâna" is "measuring after," that is, after the premises. Hence "anu" means "after all that precedes," *i.e.*, "upon the whole." "Anubandha" therefore, means "binding or grouping upon the whole." See Patanjali's Paspashâhnika :—"Anekamanubandhashatairnochchâryam, it-sanjnâ nacha vaktavyâ, lopashcha na vaktavyah, yadanubandhaih kriyate, tat kalâdibhih karisyate sidhyatyevam, apâṇinîyan tu bhavati." Here it is positively laid down that "Anubandha" is the characteristic mark of the Pâṇinîyam. Goutama applies the word, "Anubandha" to concrete as well as abstract things, and means by it "sequential connection." *Vide* his Sûtra (2. 2, 62.), which his

terminations is Pâṇini's own creation; and, therefore, the generalization is false, for *uk* covers the same ground as *ñîṗ*; for *uk* is put in wherever *ñîṗ* occurs. The same remark holds true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Kit-sûtrâṇi we have already referred to. (*b*) In generalizing, any two marks, which are constantly found together, are taken inductive cognizance of. But these two particular marks, out of many, essentially belonging to the facts under observation, may be any two marks which may specially attract the attention of a philosophic observer, and which may also appear to him to be characteristic. They may, therefore, form the subject and predicate of a general proposition. This is often lost sight of by European critics of Pâṇini, who makes any common property he likes[1] the characteristic property for generaliz-

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commentator Vâtsyâyana, thus exemplifies :—"Anubandhah sarûpaprajanânasantâno gour gâm janayatîti." *Vide* again the Goutamâ's Sûtra (3. 1, 19.) and Vâtsyâyana, thus :—"Smṛityanubandhashcha pûrvâbhyâsamantarena na bhavati." The demonstration of a sequential connection is not a function of a technical terminology. *Vide* Goldstücker on Pâṇini, page 38, where "he (Pâṇini,) employs for his technical purposes Anubandhas, or letters without significance." This remark does not demand any comment from us. We have placed it at the end of this note.

[1] A cursory examination of the first pâda of the sixth adhyâya will provide ample evidence for this statement. (*a*) Reduplication; (*b*) Samprasâraṇa, (*c*) the substitution of the letter "â" for e, ai, o, ou; (*d*) the insertion of the augment "(a);" (*e*) a nipâtana of case-changes; (*f*) the way in which Pâṇini's dhâtupâṭha should be read; (*g*) disappearance; (*h*) the augment "tuk;" (*i*) the changes of vowels when followed by vowels; (*j*) the change of two vowels into one; (*k*) the change of two vowels coming together into the one preceding (pûrvarûpa); (*l*) two vowels coming together pass into one vowel;

ing and grouping grammatical facts, no matter whether this mark essentially belongs to them as observed, or is put upon them by himself. "Achi-shnudhâtubhruvâm yvoriyañuvañou[1]" and others, as well as the Kit-sûtrâṇi more than once referred to, illustrate and exemplify the remarks we have made. (*a*) Again the Sûtra "Sasajusoruh[2]" is an instance of what we have called an artificial generalization, for the '*s*' in which many words end, which sometimes becomes '*o*' before soft consonants, and sometimes Visarga before hard consonants, and which is sometimes totally dropt, is, according to Pâṇini, first to assume the change called *ru* subject to this rule.[3] It is essential that it should pass through this ordeal before it undergoes the last change. (*b*) "Sichi vṛiddhih parasmaipa-

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(*m*) special application of these changes to case-terminations; (*n*) the change of "a" when followed by "a" or a soft consonant; (*o*) the two vowels coming together remain as they are (prakṛityâ;) (*p*) when "pluta" vowels become "apluta;" (*q*) the changes of the words "div" and "etat;" before consonantal case-terminations; (*r*) the insertion of the augment "sut" (*s*) the subject of accents: the accent on the last syllable. From this enumeration, it will at once appear that these so many Adhikâras (paragraphs) are founded on different principles, and that each principle is based on a property of a word as viewed by Pâṇini.

[1] Pâṇini (6. 4, 77.).

[2] Pâṇini (8. 2, 66.).

[3] I. "Shivô vadati." In this instance 1. Shivas (4. 1, 2.); 2. (Shiva-ru (8. 2, 66.) 3. Shiva-u (6. 1, 114.); 4. Shivo (6. 1, 87.). II. "Shivah kah." In this instance, 1. Shiva-s (4. 1, 2); 2. Shiva-ru (8. 2, 66); 3. Shivah (8. 3, 15). III. "Shiva iha." In this instance 1. Shiva-s (4. 1, 2.); 2. Shiva-ru (8. 2, 66.); 3. Shiva-y (8. 3, 17.); 4. Shiva iha (8. 3, 19.). The second stage in every instance exemplifies the statement we have made.

desu[1] is an instance of what we have called a scientific generalization, for both the marks 'Sich' and 'Parasmaipadatva' really belong to the grammatical forms which are generalized. There is almost an equal preponderance of all these three kinds of general propositions in the grammar of Pâṇini, whose terminology is often called peculiar, artificial, and complex. But from the foregoing remarks it will not fail to be perceived that in the formation and statement of these general rules, or rather definitions as an individual Sûtra is called Lakṣaṇa by authors like Patanjali,[2] a great deal more than mere terminology is involved; that the distinction of Pâṇini as a philosopher lies in his invention and use of the definition-method, and that his system, which appears as perfect to us as the system of Euclid, seems confused and irregular to European scholars, because they do not look at it from the Âryan stand-point of the definition-method.

Grammar, both analytic and synthetic.

Enough has already been said with regard to the synthetic and analytical methods of treating a subject. These remarks apply only to the way in which a subject is viewed. Independently of the modes of examination and arrangement of the subject-matter, the nature of a system itself may

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1 Pâṇini (7. 2, 1.).

2 *Vide* the introductory chapter of the Mahâbhâṣya where Patanjali says:—"Kim punarlakṣyam kim punarlakṣaṇam, shabdo lakṣyah sûtram lakṣaṇam."

be synthetic or analytical. The general rules on which a science is based constitute its synthetic part. They are founded on facts and are real. Nothing can change them. Nothing can contradict them. Of course, cursory observation of facts or imperfect induction will vitiate their truth. But careful and sufficient observation, patient and perfect induction, and scrutinizing and critical deductive application, are, of course, pre-supposed. Though such is not exactly the nature of grammatical rules based on the definition-method, yet they are analogous to these, and form the synthetical part of grammar. Contra-distinguished from these general rules by constant change, by ingenious contradictions, by new proposals, and by frequent new adaptations, the analytical part consists of the explanation of natural phenomena. This explanation is analogous to the analysis of grammatical forms. The definition-method enabled Pâṇini to frame and state general rules in a thoroughly scientific manner. But, unaided by the light of comparative philology and compelled by the peculiar circumstances,[1] in which he was placed, to fall back on his own resources, Pâṇini[2] is often superficial and fanciful in his analysis. But this circumstance, derogatory as it is, does not affect his spirit of positive inquiry, based on facts

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1 More of this in its proper place.

2 *Vide* Pâṇini (5. 2, 25.) where Paksâttih, and (4. 3, 8.) where Madhyânnah, are given: *Vide* also his analysis of pronominal case-formations (7. 2, 87-113.). Simply the re-statement of a form is not its analysis. These form properly the subject of Nipâtana.

as they are, and guided by almost overweening fondness of thorough positive evidence. Two circumstances appear to us to bear out this assertion; first, Pâṇini is explicit on the subject of his method: he seeks for the facts of the language as they are, and not as they appear to grammarians;[1] secondly, influenced by this spirit, he lays down a Nipâtana (a form which cannot be analyzed, and yet which is too important to be passed over by a grammarian without notice), where he finds it difficult to generalize properties belonging to Nipâtans,[2] and to group them under a special mark.

Scholasticism and grammatical exegesis illustrated.

The Jnâpaka introduces the subject of what is called interpreting Pâṇini by Pâṇini alone. Now what is "Jnâpaka?" That which arises and is deducible from the Pâṇinîyam, but is not directly mentioned in it. It consists of four parts:—1. the apparent[3] uselessness of what occurs in a Sûtra; 2. the

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1 *Vide* Pâṇini (1. 2, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57.).

2 *Vide* Paribhâṣendushekhara by Nâgoji Bhaṭṭa, (paribhâṣâ 109, Dr. Kielhorn's edition, page 106). "Paretu—anyâdṛishe prayoge prâptenyâdṛishaprayogakaraṇam"—the definition of a Nipâtana adopted by Nâgoji. "Siddhavaduchchâraṇam"—the traditional definition of a Nipâtana, which we have adopted. The collection of different Nipâtanas in the Pâṇinîyam favours the latter view rather than the former. Patanjali on the Nipâtana:—"Pâraskaraprabhṛitîni cha sanjnâyâm" says "Avihitalakṣaṇah sut pâraskaraprabhṛitiṣu draṣṭavyah." Here the word "avihitalakṣaṇah" recognizes the fact of a definition (lakṣaṇa) as founded on common properties (Sâdharmya) not being accomplished.

3 Pûrva-vaiyarthyam.

establishment[1] of some text; 3. the[2] application of the text to cases coming under the particular Sûtra in question; 4. the[3] application of the text established to other cases than those included originally. We will illustrate this by an example. The word "Akṣadyûh" is to be formed. It comes from "akṣa," "a die;" and div "to play." "Akṣadyûh" is one who plays with dice. Now, the changes:— "div" takes the termination "kvip" (3. 2, 76.). The termination disappears by 1. Halantyam, 2. Upadeshejanunâsika it, 3. Lashakvataddhite, 4. Tasya lopah, 5. Verapṛiktasya. "Akṣadiv" is the form now. But the letter "v" takes the form of ûṭh, that is, "û" by (6. 4, 19.); the original word "Akṣadiv" becomes "Akṣadi + û." Here is a difficulty. By the paribhâṣâ already established, the "di" in the original word cannot become "dyû" (6. 1, 77.). The paribhâṣâ "Asiddham bahirangamantarange" applies. "Uttaropasthitanimittatvam" being taken as "Bahirangatvam" yaṇ is "Antaranga." Hence "û," as it were, existed not. The result is "di" cannot undergo any change. Hence the rule—Nâjânantarye bahiṣṭvaprakḷiptih. This rule is established by the "Jnâpaka" discernible in (6. 1, 86.) where "tuk" is put in. In a discussion about the formation of words like "Adhîtya," the paribhâṣâ we have mentioned, if applied, removes every difficulty. Hence "tuk" (6. 1, 86.) is useless (apparently.) But it is put in by Pâṇini. Therefore, it indicates something,

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1 Kinchidarthajnâpanam. 2 Svasmin châritârthyam.

3 Anyatra phalam.

that is, serves the purpose of a "Jnâpaka" for the rule already mentioned. The word "Adhîtya" is now formed by (6. 1, 86.). The rule—Asiddham bahirangamantarange—is set aside by the rule deduced, which is—Nâjânantarye bahistvaprakliptih. For these two conflict with each other. Hence, in the example Aksadyûh, the rule deduced applies, and difficulties are removed. This is the way in which a "Jnâpaka" is brought to bear. This method of interpreting Pânini by himself has always been employed by our grammarians. The only remark that we have to make is,—its philosophy has degenerated: its spirit is misunderstood: its importance is not fully recognized; and its application is not thorough enough. The interpretation of the Pâninîyam by itself is thus treated. The Pâninîyam is a sort of gymnasium for the intellect. Its interpretation is likely not only to teach and impress the exegetical method of Patañjali and other teachers, but to call into activity the logical faculties of the mind. The influence of the Pâninîyam as a means of education cannot be overrated.

Chronology of Pânini.

The question as to the chronology of Pânini can be answered in a way by ascertaining the time when Patanjali wrote his commentary. Ancient Indian chronology has been much discussed, external evidence being generally adduced, but external evidence can be admitted, only when it does not conflict with internal evidence, which is always preferable in the case of Indian chronology; for,

being fuller, it is more reliable, and can be based on facts of a kind capable of standing an examination and a cross-examination before any judge. These facts are not historical in the ordinary sense, but the history of ideas and feelings is more reliable than the annals of battles and sieges. We intend to use this history and see what light it can throw on the chronology of Pâṇini.

Evidence arranged.

The evidence about to be adduced can be cumulated under four heads:—philosophical, literary, social, and geographical. The first relates to the growth and development of philosophical ideas, and can be gathered from the discussions of thinkers who flourished either before or after Patanjali. The second is to be built on the development and nature of literary works noticed by Pâṇini and Patanjali. The third includes the history of manners and customs. The fourth is to be gathered from the state of geographical knowledge of ancient authors. External evidence will be considered in its proper place. Now first, the philosophical evidence.

Antecedents of Patanjali classified.

As a school of thought can be neither understood nor interpreted without an analysis of its antecedents, which originate and determine it, the antecedents of Patanjali are to be examined. At the time of Patanjali, psychology, which succeeds philological discussions, was strenuously cultivated.

Patanjali defined, criticised, systematized and commented on what had been developed in a long series of centuries by the Âchâryas, whose activities were not one-sided, as will be shown in the sequel. Some proposed abstruse philosophical problems, and away in forests, attempted[1] to solve them. The literature which embodies their speculations is called Âraṇyaka. Some[2] examined lingual forms, and in conformity with the definition-method, developed the rules and laws of language. Others[3] acted on the elaborate sacrificial lore accumulated from time immemorial. Philosophically and historically, the Âchârya-period is highly interesting. The predominant style of composition was that of the Sûtras; but it was not exclusively employed, for some Âraṇyakas and some Sûtras, theological and grammatical, were almost contemporary. The abridged methodic style of composition and a mode of thought, definite and practical, were the necessary consequences of a re-action against the verbose, loose, and immethodical dicta of the Brahmavâdins, who revelled for centuries in sacrifices, and a mode of discussion based on metaphors, analogies, and illustrations often far-fetched. Elaborate theology was itself a re-action against

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1 *Vide* Chhândogya Upaniṣad—(V. 10.) "Ye cheme araṇye shraddhâtapa ityupâsate." Again—it is interpreted :—"Yadaraṇyâyanamityâchakṣate brahmacharyameva." *Vide* the same (VIII. 5.).

2 *Vide* the Sûtras of the predecessors of Pâṇini.

3 Âshvalâyana quotes (*Vide* II. 6, 16th Sûtra) Gâṇagâri, *Vide* (V. 6, 24th Sûtra) Toulvali, and others. Toulvali is a scion of Tulvala, and is mentioned by Pâṇini. *Vide* Pâṇini (2. 2, 61.). This evidence specially deserves attention.

the pure, simple, impassioned and direct teachings of the *Ri*sis, who began a revolution like Tukârâma and Nânaka against the unspiritual sacrificial system of their predecessors.[1] Generations of *Ri*sis taught, prayed, and sang.[2] But the people, instead of rising to their height, brought them down to their own level. Beginning from the earliest time, the predecessors of Patanjali can be arranged in the following order.

I. The *Ri*sis; II. The Brahmavâdins; III. The Âchâryas; IV. and last, the teachers who predominated at the time of Patanjali. I. The *Ri*sis were worshippers[3] who adopted the mode and form of expression with which they were familiar. Spells or Mantras[4] had been used: the enemies of the Vedic Âryas had often shown their magical[5] powers:

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1 *Vide* (I. 1, 2.) R. S. The "past *Ri*sis." Again *Vide* (VII. 53, 1.) R. S., where "the past poets" are mentioned.

2 *Vide* (VII. 70, 6.) of the same "Imâ brahmân*y*richyante yuvabhyâm." *Vide* (VIII. 14, 2.) "Shikseyamasmai ditseyam shachîpate manîsi*n*e yadaham gopatih syâm" for a prayer. *Vide* (VIII. 19, 29.) "tvâmidâhuh pramatim vaso mamâgne harsasva dâtave," and other prayers in the same Sûkta. As for songs the (word Gâyata) occurs often. The *Ri*sis again call themselves Gâyatri*n*ah or singers.

3 The words "*r*ich" and "archa" to worship, are often used. *Vide* Nirukta, (IV. 6.) where the Veda or Brahma is declared to be either Itihâsa or *Ri*k or Gâthâ.

4 The word "Mantra" occurs in (I. 40, 5 and 6.) R. S. *Vide* (VII. 76, 4.) of the same, in which 'Satyamantrâ' occurs. *Vide* (VII. 32, 13.), Satyamantra must be necessarily opposed to Asatyamantra, that is, opposition between true and false Mantras.

5 *Vide* (VIII. 23, 14 and 15.), where the words "Mâyinah" and "Mâyayâ" at once occur.

sacrifices[1] had been performed: Brahmanaspati[2] had been recognized: Yajus[3] or the sacrificial dictum had been uttered: and Sâmâni[4] or songs had been chanted. The characteristic features of this period were the metrical style of composition and a soluble and unlocalized mode of thought, which applied almost the same epithets to different gods, and, sometimes in an access of mind overcome by feeling and devotion, considered all gods to be one.[5] Devotion, such as Tukârâma preached, was an essential and distinctive feature. II. The Brahmavâdins set up manual rites against this spirit of devotion. III. The Âchâryas who were both teachers and philosophers[6] differed from the Brahmavâdins. IV. While the Yâjnikas of the time of Patanjali were an inferior class of Brâhmanas, who probably composed Parishistas, meddled with the sacrificial system, and attempted to maintain their dignity[7]. The teachers or Gurus employed

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1 *Vide* (VII. 14, 1 and 2.), where a sacrifice is qualified as ancient. Moreover, all the instruments of a sacrifice and its details are often referred to.

2 *Vide* (II. 24, 12.), where Indrâbrahmanaspatî are praised. Brahmanaspati is often mentioned.

3 *Vide* (VIII. 41. 8.), where Yajuh is mentioned.

4 *Vide* (VIII. 16, 9.) "Tamarkebhistam sâmabhistam gâyatraishcharsanayah indram vardhanti ksitayah." This *Rik* refers to Sâmâni with Gâyatra and Arka. Indra is called Brahmâ.

5 *Vide* (1, 164, 43, 44, 45, and 46.), where all gods are stated to be one and the same. This *Rik* may be compared with the *Riks* 1st and 2nd of the 58th Sûkta, 7th Adhyâya, 8th Mandala, of what is called Vâlakhilya, stated to be a later interpretation.

6 *Vide* Yâska's Nirukta.

7 *Vide* para 6th in the sequel.

exegetical logic and propounded theology. Ample evidence in support of these statements is available. We will produce it in our history of philosophy in India. We will only indicate here how the different periods were re-actionary. I. During the first period, the authors of the Sûktas called themselves new Vipras,[1] worshippers, intelligent and thoughtful. These assumptions doubtless show their re-actionary spirit.[2] These leaders came together in assemblies[3] and prayed as they sacrificed.[4] The sacrificial phrases, which had their own significance, were with them so many convenient forms ready to hand for the expression of their devotional feelings, which referred to the direct performance of a sacrifice as such. The word Brahma, so mystic and vague, is used by them in the sense of a prayer uttered. II. During the second period, the Brahmavâdins attempted to explain the sacrificial rites in their different stages. They availed themselves of such aid as philosophy in its rude state, simple analogies, illustrations of any kind, and a

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1 *Vide* the *Ri*ks (II. 64.) R. S., where Vipras are mentioned. *Vide* also (VII. 22, 9.) R. S., where old and new *Ri*sis and Vipras are mentioned. *Vide* (I. 7, 1.), where Gâthinas and Arki*n*as are mentioned. *Vide* (II. 64.) R. S., in the *Ri*ks of which the epithets mentioned are used. It is not necessary to produce any particular *Ri*ks for supporting the statement in the text. A cursory glance at the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ will discover any number of instances.

2 *Vide* what is called the Frog-Sûkta uttered by our Vasi*s*tha (VII. 103). This Sûkta is satiric and re-actionary.

3 *Vide* (1. 47, 10.), where "Ka*n*vânâm sadasi priye" occurs. *Vide* (1. 60, 5.), where "Prashansâmo matibhir gotamâsah" occurs: there were the assemblies of the Ka*n*vas and Gotamas.

4 *Vide* (VIII. 36, 7.), where "Karmâ*n*i" and "Brahmâ*n*i" are brought into opposition.

spirit of generalization which refers every thing to be explained to certain accepted forms, could afford.[1] Brahmavarchasa[2] was ambitiously aspired after. Brahma[3] as opposed to Ksatra expressed all that was connected with learning and with sacrifice, and all that constituted the pre-eminence of a priest or philosopher. Long sacrificial sessions[4] were the order of the day. The words Sâyujya[5] or Salokatâ were inherited, and were easily understood. The style of composition, of argument, and of procedure, doubtless shows re-action against the simple and pure devotion of the *Risis*. III. During the third period, some of the Brahmavâdins gradually developed into Âchâryas, who understood a method of ratiocination[6] better, and

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1 A cursory glance at a passage or two of the Aitareya-Brâhmana for example will bear out the statement in the text.

2 Brahmavarchasa is defined to be light. *Vide* Aitareya-Brâhmana (I. 8.) and (II. 4.).

3 *Vide* (VII. 19.) of the Aitareya Brâhmana. Brahma is distinguished from ksatra. The one for a Brâhmana, and the other for a Ksatriya. The whole passage throws much light on the nature of Brahma. At this time, it was sacrifice, the knowledge, and instruments necessary for performing it.

4 Sattra is the word for a sacrificial session. Fables of the time make lower animals hold a sattra. Besides, the sacrifices regularly prescribed lasted for a number of days.

5 These words occur too often to need references to particular passages. What definite notions the word Sâyujya conveyed to the mind of a Brahmavâdin, it is rather difficult to determine, as no explanation is given. This circumstance shows that the word conveyed a familiar idea.

6 *Vide* paragraph 10th in this chapter. Atharva-Veda-Sanhitâ, (11th Kânda, 2nd Anuvâka,). *Vide* Taittiriya-Brâhmana. See (Kânda 10, par. 9, A. 5.) a dialogue between a Brahmachârin and an Âchârya. It was

whose attempts at discovering the essence of matter and mind, resulted in the development of the first general principles of psychology. These Âchâryas were the first fathers of regular philosophy in India. The rude etymologists began to cultivate grammar seriously. Pâṇini is considered by Patanjali to be the Âchârya *par excellence*. He never, we believe, calls him a *Ṛisi*. Other Âchâryas still under the enslaving influence of theology composed the sacrificial Sûtras so well known. IV. 'The fourth period was marked by theological degeneracy and stagnation, and philosophical improvement and agitation.[1] The Yâjnikas sought to enforce artificial rules of sanctity and caste; and theological interpreters of the class of Patanjali, who perhaps laid the foundation of the Mîmânsâ-system of philosophy, took the place of the Âchârya-theologians. Patanjali undertakes to write his commentary for the revival[2] of theology. Philosophy was not as yet represented by a class of thinkers distinctly named. It will be shown in the sequel that philosophy at the time

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stated in answer to queries of the Brahmachârin, that Satya is in Tapas, which consists in Bala, and that consists in Prâṇa. The Âchârya prevented the pupil from overstepping the bounds of enquiry. "Ahamuta Âchâryâchchhreyân bhavisyâmi." "I shall be greater than an Âchârya," are significant words. Our learned Mâdhava's interpretation generally confirms the liberal construction of the original passage. *Vide* the 13th Adhyâya of the 8th Prapâṭhaka of the same Kâṇḍa. Three categories—earth, water, and sky—are mentioned in a theological way. Air is included in the sky and the light in water.

1 4th and 5th paragraphs give evidence for this statement.

2 *Vide* the introductory chapter of the Mahâbhâsya. The great point of ambition was to be Ârtvijîna.

of Patanjali was in a state of indefiniteness. Philology in India preceded psychology by centuries.[1] Philosophy, when it proposes the solution of higher problems, such as how perception is caused, has a freshness, a novelty, and a power of inspiration which acts strongly on the susceptible minds of thinkers like Patanjali, and communicates a general impulse to the thought of the age. After Patanjali, a conflict took place between Karma-Mîmânsâ, the strong and staunch advocate of theology, and Yoga, on which the mantle of the Âchâryas, who had cultivated philosophy, fell. The Mîmânsâ employed exegetical logic in defending theology, and introduced into its discussions philological and psychological principles.[2] The conflict, between eternal activity and final emancipation from all activity,[3] assumed, for the first time, a definite form, and became fruitfully vehement. Thus the action and re-action of theological and philosophical influences necessarily culminated in Buddhism, which recognized and encouraged the esoteric philosophy of the Yoga-system in its convents,[4] succeeded in weakening the influence of the Yâjnikas by its public and popular preaching, and thus included within its fold the laity and philosophical ascetics. This

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1 *Vide* our comparison between Kanâda and Pânini.

2 The idea of Bhâvanâ or thought is the key to the paraphrase of every passage according to the Mimânsâ-system.

3 The conflict first comes to notice in the Upanisads, and is first systematically stated in the Yoga-system of philosophy.

4 *Vide* the Dhamma-pada.

view places Patanjali before Buddha. We will, in the sequel, produce what evidence we have for establishing this view.

State of philosophy before Patanjali.

We have shown in the first chapter that the *Rig*-veda-Sanhitâ reveals a civilization anterior to itself, a form of society, a government, and a code of customary law, social, political, and theological or rather sacrificial. The *Risis* believed in the working of an indefinite energy represented on earth by fire, in the firmament by air, and in the heavens by the sun. They had a distinct notion of a sort of composition which they invariably denoted by the word "Yoga," and of a sort of an inherent stability which they named "Ksema." The Brahmavâdins introduced anthropomorphic ideas into the simple philosophy of the *Risis*. They sought to rationalize their sacrificial notions or rather customs by reducing them to the notions of *generation*, all the processes of which were directly transferred to the sacrifice in its different stages. The anthropomorphic idea of *generation* insisted upon by the Brahmavâdins, was analyzed by the Âchâryas into the primary appearance, secondary appearance, contact, and that which causes contact.[1] Philosophy was separated from theology.[2] The

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1 *Vide* 3rd Anuvâka of the first Valli of the Shîksâ-adhyâya Taittirîya Upanisad : the terms used are Pûrvarûpam, Uttararûpam, Sandhânam, and Sandhih.

2 *Vide* the Mun*d*aka Upanisad, 5th Section of the 1st Kân*d*a. The Aparâ Vidyâ is distinguished from the Parâ. The first includes the four Vedas ; and Shiksâ, Kalpa, Vyâkaran*a*, Nirukta, Chhanda and Jyotisa :

philosophical questions of the day were:—What is the origin of the people? How many gods are there? What are their ranks? And who is the highest among them? What is Prâna or the essence of life? What is the soul? What is an individual man? What are the secondary essences or tanmâtrâ?[1] Some of these questions were proposed by the Aitareyins and Taittirîyins from the earliest time.[2] But it is one thing to see the first glimmerings of an idea, and quite another thing to see it discussed by the thinkers of the day. The first glimmerings of induction were seen long before Bacon, who is called the father of inductive philosophy. The soul had been distinguished from the mind, and the seat of the power of the senses was analogically illustrated.[3] The action of the mind on the body, and that of the latter on the former, could not be understood: the nervous system was not discovered: two souls were, therefore, supposed to exist—internal and corporeal.[4] All

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the Parâ leads to the knowledge of soul. The distinction between Parâ and Aparâ is the distinction between higher and lower. *Vide* (7th Adhyâya, first Kânda of the Chhândogya-Upanisad), where a distinction between a Mantra-vid and an Âtma-vid is made. The former knew theology as developed at the time, the latter was a philosopher.

1 *Vide* specially the Prashna-Upanisad; and cursorily go through any of the ten Upanisads.

2 *Vide* first Panch. 19th Khanda, 2nd Panch. 25th Khanda and 40th Khanda of the Aitareya-Brâhmana, and again from the Taittirîya-Brâhmana, many passages can be quoted. The mode of a psychological discussion is quaint, as it is based on sacrificial forms.

3 Any part of the Aitareya and Taittirîya-Brâhmanas may be read for illustrating this statement.

4 *Vide* Taittirîya-Upanisad, the discussion about two souls occupies a prominent part. Eighty-six years before Harvey, who

the subjective and objective phenomena were supposed to originate from soul (Âtman)—the essence of mind and matter; but the relation between the objects seen and the agent seeing was not examined; no theory as to the origin of perception was put forth till the time of Patanjali. Feelings were enumerated.[1] Distinction between "good" and "evil" in man was made.[2] But even now theology predominated: philology aided it: philosophy dissented in-as-much as it declared that its teaching was superior to that of theology.[3] Now philosophy proposed to itself the examination of the relation between the subjective and objective phenomena. Matter, quality, action, generality, and individuality[4]—these categories were known; but their nature and their relation to one another were neither discussed nor analyzed till the time of Patanjali. The definition-method, the principles and elements of which we have already discussed, and the common ground between which and the Vaisheśika philosophy, then in its second stage only, which we will describe in the sequel, was the prevailing philosophic method for taking stock

published his "Ascertained Discovery" in 1628, Vesalius, who published his great work on the structure of the Human Body in 1542, speaks of two mysterious entities called *Vital spirit* and *animal spirit*. Are not these identical with Antarâtma and Sharîrâtma?

1 *Vide* the Aitareya-Upaniśad.

2 *Vide* in the Chhândogya-Upaniśad the description of Brahmapura—the internal world of happiness and of desires.

3 Read the story of the battle between gods and demons and about the doings of Personal Sin at the beginning of the Chhândogya-Upaniśad.

4 *Vide* our remarks about "Pâṇini" and Kaṇâda compared" in the first chapter of our essay on Pâṇini.

of the materials already collected, and for systematizing them. But where scanty or no materials had been collected, and where ideas were about to be originated, the ordinary discursive method was employed as in the Âranyakas.

Philosophy at the time of Pânini and Kâtyâyana.

The state of psychological thought at the time of Pânini has been explained at considerable length in the first section of this chapter. In this place theology will be considered. Distinction between revealed and profane literature was recognized (more of this in the sequel). The Shrouta acceptation[1] of the word *study* or a passage prescribing it, shows how far the sacrificial art was carefully cultivated. Again, the key to Pânini's terminology is the principle that sound (shabda) is eternal. Pânini seems to recognize this principle. The phrases, that a letter disappears,[2] that it takes the place of another,[3] and that it re-appears,[4] are easily explained on the principle of the eternity of sound —the fundamental principle of Jaimini's system. In the Taittirîya-Prâtishâkhya, the word "destruction"[5] is used, where Pânini invariably uses the word, "disappearance." There were, therefore, two schools—the one maintaining the eternity of sound in opposition to the other, which asserted its transitoriness. When the orthodoxy was thus

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1 *Vide* the Atharva-Prâtishâkhya (IV. 108.), and compare this with Pânini (4. 4, 63.).

2 *Vide* (I. 1, 60.).

3 *Vide* (I. 1, 56.).

4 *Vide* (I. 1, 62.).

5 *Vide* (I. 57th Sûtra).

divided, the mention of atheists[1] and fatalists by Pâṇini can be easily explained. While grammarians considered a word either as principal or accessory,[2] philosophers conversant with the metaphysics of volition, and with the essence of the relation of sequence, expressed their notion of the qualified by Prakṛiti[3] in contra-distinction to the notion of a quality. When the whole nation believed in future life,[4] recognized certain sacrificial forms and theological dogmas as the means of securing heaven, the atheists perhaps opposed them so far as these forms and dogmas were concerned. The opposition created a class of people who may be fairly characterized as enquirers.[5] Pâṇini's notions of the relation between an agent and his action throw sufficient light on the state of philosophy and establish that the mind of Pâṇini, not being shackled by tradition, was original. Philosophy was not warped by the theological doctrines insisted upon by Mîmânsakas, —that action as expressed by a sacrifice was the cause of what befalls man, and needed absolute regulation, and that accumulated action was, in one sense, fate itself. Philosophy, as it reveals itself in the writings of Pâṇini, recognizes *action* as involving[6] important relations such as that of a

1 *Vide* Pâṇini (4. 4, 60.).

2 *Vide* the same (1. 2, 56.).

3 *Vide* the same (1. 4, 30.).

4 *Vide* (6. 1, 49.) of Pâṇini which speaks of the other world (Paraloka), and (5. 2, 92.), which alludes to the transmigration of souls (Para-ksetra).

5 *Vide* Pâṇini (5. 1, 73.).

6 *Vide* the Sûtras which regulate the kâraka-relations with the verbs.

motive, purpose, desire, or hatred; but it boldly maintains that the agent himself is independent. In this respect, Pâṇini's grammar essentially differs from modern grammar which allies itself with the first Mîmânsâ and differs from the dialectics of Kaṇâda or Goutama. Pâṇini dissents from both and fully recognizes the independence of the agent. His relations as expressed by his motives and means are connected with action (Kriyâ)—this connection being the fundamental principle of theological exegetics. The Yoga doctrine of Kaivalya, that is, identity of the human spirit and the Supreme Spirit is not hinted at. But the term "Nihshreyasa"[1] (*summum bonum*) discovers the tendency of the age which consisted in a change of the method of investigation. Before Pâṇini and in the Brâhmaṇas, the objective method of interpretation in the case of the Chhandas had been adopted: at the time of Pâṇini, the subjective method was employed as in the Upanisads. The former developed exegetic logic, and sacrificial theology: the latter produced a variety of philosophical systems and terminated at last in a sort of hazy Pantheism. Pâṇini mentions teachers like Vaishampâyana[2] and Koutsa who—with an energy the effects of which are still seen, and with a power of excogitation which made a deep impression on the doctrines and beliefs of the Âchâryas—cultivated theology, investigated psychology, and promulgated cosmological principles,

1 *Vide* Pâṇini (5. 4, 77.).

2 (4. 3, 104.) and (4. 1, 102.) of Pâṇini, and see (III. 2, 2.) page 71 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâṣya.—(Upasedivân Koutsah Pâṇinim), may be read along with the Sûtras.

which in due season fructified. The words, "Shâstra"—science, and "Shâstra-krit"—the author of a science, are not mentioned, while Kâtyâyana in his Vârtikas naturally mentions them.[1] Again, Brahmavâdin is formed by a Vârtika.[2] There is an apparent anachronism about this rule; and the question may be asked:—How is the formation of names and terms, which occur in the literature which decidedly preceded Pâṇini himself, regulated by Kâtyâyana? The question may be answered in two ways. Either the words were not so well-established as to draw or deserve special attention, or being well-known, and conveying their meaning easily and definitely, they did not call for special ruling. Again, scholasticism, having once acted on the intellect of the age, turned into a new channel: the catalogue of different sciences was enlarged and reiterated. We will give an example. The five-fold analysis, as noticed in a Vârtika, marks decisive progress in scholasticism[3] —the question, as to the power a word possesses of conveying a particular sense, was enthusiastically discussed. Scholasticism was at its height

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1 *Vide* Vârtika on (3. 1, 85.).

2 *Vide* Vârtika on (3. 2, 78.).

3 *Vide* Vârtika on (1. 2, 45.), where a statement based on a hair-splitting distinction is made. *Vide* also Vârtika on (2. 3, 23.), where a condition, a cause, and reason, are mentioned by way of amendment. This marks decisive progress. *Vide* Vârtika on (2. 3, 56.), where varieties of slaughter are indicated. *Vide* Vârtika on (3. 2, 126.); a schoolman uses the word *Tattva* not in the sense of essence, but in the sense of nature. Patanjali discards the notion and considers the examples as cases of mere essential sequence. Mark the words—"Tattvâkhyâne cha."

when Kâtyâyana flourished, who did not attempt the interpretation of any of the ancient texts. Original and independent, he set about collecting lingual forms, and generalizing them according to the definition-method. A great and exhaustive treatise had anticipated him. This perhaps threatened to cripple his ambitious mind, which was as great as that of Pâṇini. But the circumstance, that his original mind did not get a sphere of action sufficiently large, produced consequences of importance. Like other teachers of his time, he employed his energy in examining the Sûtras of Pâṇini, and in acting on them from different points of view. The Vârtika-period extended at least over two hundred years, for it shows that a mass of literature, both theological and psychological, which had already been accumulated, was subjected to a thorough examination, that in the meantime, literature itself underwent changes, that many Vârtikas originated in the spirit of dialectics, that new Vârtikas were examined and set aside, that a system of interpreting Pâṇini by himself was developing, and that principles inferred from Pâṇini were enforced and gave a new turn to the science of interpretation and paved the way for the Mahâbhâsya, a great scholastic disquisition—an encyclopædia of all the grammatical literature, philosophy and dialectics developed up to the time of Patanjali. Between Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana, the Âchâryas were engaged in original philosophical investigation. With Kâtyâyana the real Âchârya-period ended. Those that followed Kâtyâyana were influenced by his hair-splitting dialectics, and were impelled by the momentum of their educa-

tion to philosophize without the intellectual conditions which necessitate philosophy, or without systematized materials which call for generalization. The times of Kâtyâyana reveal theological stagnation and literary progress. Disgusted with fruitless attempts at building up philosophical theories, the teachers like Patanjali diverted their attention and energy to the development of exegetical logic.

Times of Patanjali.

Great intellectual activity was shown both by the teachers and the taught who were not mere schoolboys managed by pedagogues, who are ever anxious to keep up their dignity, and who are often vexed with the pupil who should make bold to ask what are called impertinent questions. The relation between the pupil and teacher at the time of Patanjali was that between a philosopher and his associates. The teacher was the president, as it were, of a debating club. Yet owing to the particular circumstances of their education, the teacher was highly respected both at home and in society. The discussion which he encouraged by joining it as an associate, was interesting and instructive. A subject, when taken up for discussion, was examined philosophically and philologically from as many points of view as possible. The school-house or rather the debating club was full of life. The pupils studied with a conscious zeal, which, in these days of mercenary instruction and mechanical study, cannot but be admired. Religious feelings, which in their educational in-

fluence imparted solemnity to the class-room, exalted the teacher without lowering the pupil. "The Âchârya," as Patanjali refers to Pâṇini, "sat with sacred grass in his hand, at a pure moment, with his face towards the rising sun, and propounded the lesson."[1] This gravity, so natural and so amiable, could not but produce awe in the mind of the pupil and affect his feelings. The relation between a teacher and his pupils was considered to be identical with that between a father and a son. This was carried so far that language itself was moulded and adapted to its expression.[2] The mind of the pupil was necessarily raised above itself, when the teacher with the Kamaṇḍalu[3] appeared before him. The pupil would go to heaven if he secured the affection of his teacher.[4] No reward could be greater than this. The pupils did not disappoint their teacher. The respect which was paid to them by the people is an index of their good conduct and their success.[5] They studied night and day. Some walked hundreds of miles to honour their teachers, and sought knowledge.[6] Some, when they could not get oil for their lamps, burnt dry cow-dung which could then, as now, be easily collected on a common, and studied quietly

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1 *Vide* page 46 of (I. 1. 3.) of Patanjali's Mahâbhâṣya, Benares edition.

2 *Vide* (4. 3, 77.) of Pâṇini.

3 Patanjali's Mahâbhâṣya (I. 4, 4.), page 298.

4 Patanjali's Mahâbhâṣya (III. 1, 2.), page 27.

5 *Vide* (I. 1, 8.), page 135 of the same.

6 *Vide* (V. 1, 2.), page 18th of the same, This information the Vârtika supplies.

by themselves.[1] Instruction was not confined to the class-room. Whole society, that is, its leaders, was under a thorough system of instruction and discipline. It is natural to expect that where bad boys who ran away from school,[2] and bad teachers who repelled their pupils,[3] are mentioned; the system of education was general. The school of an angry teacher was deserted.[4] Some teachers complained that boys did not remain sufficiently long at school, and that, when not pleased, they went from school to school—an inevitable evil where competition exists.[5] In some cases, the father himself taught his son,[6] who was perhaps helped by his mother who knew such abstruse speculations as Mîmânsâ encouraged.[7] The ancient teachers or rather those who controlled them understood the laws of health so well, that schools sat only for four months in a year, that the system of vacations was adapted to the vicissitudes of seasons, and that weekly and fortnightly holidays were granted at proper intervals. A boy was sent to school neither too early nor too late. Nor were the lower classes of society excluded from a suitable education adapted to their condition in life. What deserves notice is that the time of commencing to learn as fixed by the ancient

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1 *Vide* (III. 1, 2.), page 25 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya, Benares edition.

2 *Vide* (I. 4, 3.), page 282 of the same.

3 *Vide* the preceding.

4 *Vide* the same.

5 *Vide* (II. 1, 2.), page 333 of the same.

6 *Vide* (I. 4, 3.), page 288 of the same.

7 *Vide* (IV. 3, 1.), page 87 of the same.

Âchâryas tallies with the time fixed by a resolution of German educationists. A school-costume was also prescribed.[1] The school-course was divided into two parts—theological and philosophical. Theology, as developed before Patanjali and as interpreted by the Yâjnikas of his time, was first taught; grammar was taught next; but the study of grammar included instruction in philosophy and important branches of literature, such as rhetoric [2] (More of literature in the sequel). The theology of this period:—The chhando-Brâhmaṇâni[3] and the Kalpa-sûtras[4] were taught, as they constituted Yâjnikya, which predominated at the time, for the Yâjnika had a place assigned to him among grammarians and Mîmânsakas,[5] and could powerfully influence society in which the great goal of ambition was to be the manager of a sacrifice.[6] While the Brahmavâdins had sought to secure Brahmavarchasa,[7] the Yâjnika taught that works not in conformity with theological rules were useless and produced no fruit;[8] that he in whose family, there had been no Shûdra for ten generations, could alone drink the Soma-

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1 *Vide* the Gṛihya-Sûtra of Âshvalâyana, where special rules are laid down as to vacations and school-costume and other things spoken of in the text.

2 *Vide* (I. 2, 1.), page 193 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâṣya

3 *Vide* (I. 3, 1.), page 241 of the same.

4 *Vide* (V. 1, 2.), page 25 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâṣya.

5 *Vide* (II. 2, 2.), page 366 of the same.

6 *Vide* (I. 1, 1.), page 7 of the same.

7 *Vide* (5. 4, 78.) of Pâṇini.

8 *Vide* (I. 2, 3.), page 231 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâṣya.

juice.[1] They, says Patanjali perhaps ironically, create a Vedic terminology.[2] The class of Yâjnikas attracted the attention of Patanjali so much, that he more than once gives the etymology of the name—Yâjnika.[3] The theology that was taught, consisted in rules about the mere performance of a sacrifice. The Chhandas were considered eternal.[4] The Mantras were considered powerful enough to bring down rain.[5] Daily and periodical sacrifices were duly performed.[6] Instruction in Dharma as distinguished from Adharma was given.[7] A distinction between *havya* and *kavya* was recognized.[8] Heaven was promised to such as gave boiled rice in charity.[9] The Vedas having been developed into different Shâkhâs, the Kâ*th*aka, Kâlâpaka, Moudaka, and Paippalâdaka, come together as often as they happen to be mentioned.[10] Patanjali speaks of the Sanhitâ well-composed by Shâkalya.[11] The Ukthas had formed an independent branch of study.[12] The etymology of Gârhapatya—a sacrificial fire—had been given.[13] Âtharva*n*a Dharma as distinguished from Âtharva*n*a

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1 *Vide* (IV. 1, 3.), page 47 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya.
2 *Vide* (I. 1, 3.), page 44 of the same.
3 *Vide* for instance (IV. 2, 1.), page 66 of the same.
4 *Vide* (IV. 3. 1.), page 82 of the same.
5 *Vide* (I. 4, 4.), page 298 of the same.
6 *Vide* (IV. 1, 2.), page 21 of the same.
7 *Vide* (I. 1, 3.), page 281 of the same.
8 *Vide* (III. 3, 2.), page 88 of the same.
9 *Vide* (III. 3, 1.), page 86 of the same.
10 *Vide* (IV. 1, 1.), page 4 of the same.
11 *Vide* (I. 4, 4.), page 297 of the same.
12 *Vide* (4. 2, 60.) of Pâ*n*ini.
13 *Vide* (4. 4.) 90th Sûtra of Pâ*n*ini.

Âmnâya is mentioned.[1] Because the Anuvâka of Vasis*th*a and the Anuvâka of Vishvâmitra are mentioned, the Mantras as well as other parts of the Vedas were individually known.[2] A Sâma without a *Ri*k and a *Ri*k abounding in Sâmas are contrasted—a circumstance that deserves special attention.[3] Now *the state of philosophy* at this time is to be considered. Theology, we have already observed, had stagnated: the great object of studying Yâjnikya was to be able to perform sacrifices as they had been performed.[4] Mîmânsâ[5] had come into existence: it explained perhaps the sacrificial system and attempted perhaps to justify what had existed. Perhaps this Mîmânsâ was a further development of some of the doctrines of the Upanisads.[6] Probably, it was not the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ, for Bâdarâya*n*a in his system of Vedântism quotes Kâshakr*i*tsna.[7] But there was a great deal of philosophical agitation. Though the prevailing mode of thought was Vaishesika,[8] yet the name of the philosopher, Ka*n*âda, or of the Vaishesika-system, is not even once mentioned.

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1 *Vide* (IV. 3, 2.) page 84 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya.

2 *Vide* the preceding.

3 *Vide* (V. 4, 1.), page 81 of the same.

4 *Vide* the Paspashâ of Patanjali.

5 Mîmânsakas are often mentioned by Patanjali. *Vide* for instance (I. 2, 3.), page 218 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya.

6 It was studied by women who took little or no part in the management of a sacrifice, and who could not be interested in the intricate exegetical discussions of the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ.

7 *Vide* (I. 4, 22nd Sûtra) of Vedânta by Bâdarâya*n*a.

8 *Vide* the first chapter of our essay on Pâ*n*ini—paragraph "Pâ*n*ini and Ka*n*âda compared."

No treatise was as yet put forth. Patanjali often broaches the theory of categories, defines them, discusses the nature of Dravya or matter, and Guna or a quality as often as he can, and tries to enforce his own views. Perhaps he had a motive in doing this. The views of matter and a quality entertained by Mîmânsakas of his time did not satisfy him. It was perhaps in opposition to those who had a tendency to adopt Yoga principles, which were not as yet systematized, that Patanjali insists on his own definitions of matter, a quality, generality and individuality. Patanjali never alludes to the theory of Vishesas, which is the well-known characteristic of the Vaisheśika philosophy, though he discusses the nature of individuality as opposed to generality, but from his own point of view, for he never mentions Vaisheśika samavâya. He particularly dwells on the *theory of perception or Pratyaksa.* He mentions Buddhi, which according to Kanâda, is mere knowledge;[1] but Patanjali assigns to it the same function as that of the Sânkhyas.[2] "The Buddhi determines."[3] The senses cause sensation or Samsâdana, which is peculiarly a word of Patanjali. He propounds the theory of volition :—Presentation followed by sensation causes knowledge, which excites desires followed by an internal effort or volition, when the determining faculty acts: the determination necessarily results in a beginning,

[1] *Vide* Goutama (I. 1, 15.). *Vide* Kanâda (VIII. 1, 1.), the commentary on this sums up his doctrine of Buddhi.

[2] *Vide* Sânkhya Pravachanîyam (II. 13th Sûtra), page 115, "Adhyavasâyo buddhih."

[3] See the preceding reference.

which is followed by action, and terminates in a fruit.[1] This is decidedly different from the theory of Kanâda. Sensation produces knowledge, which excites the feelings of pleasure or pain followed by a wish or aversion. Then, there is the internal effort or volition, which terminates in an action.[2] Thus the definitions of Buddhi given by Patanjali and Kanâda do not correspond, and the theory of volition as broached by Patanjali essentially differs from that of Kanâda. The conditions which prevent direct observation are enumerated.[3] *As to inference* the Vaisehika example[4] is more than once given. In the theory of inference as propounded by Kanâda, the principle of Parâmarsha plays an essential part. Patanjali recognizes the principle, but does not use the same term. His term is Abhisambandha, which he explains. The theory of inference is inseparable from a few *psychological considerations*, and Patanjali's psychology, though indefinite, is interesting, as it is on the threshold of the philosophy of the six schools of India. Kanâda considers mind or Manas to be a substance,[5] and to be the internal organ through which sensation reaches

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1 "Iha ya esa manusyah prekshâpûrvakârî bhavati sa buddhyâ tâvat kinchidartham sampashyati sandrishe rârthanâ prârthite 'dhyavasâyah adhyavasâye ârambhah ârambhe nivrittih nivrittou phalâvâptih." These principles are stated in (I. 3, 2.), page 246 of the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali.

2 *Vide* (V. 2, 15.) of Kanâda with the commentary of Jayanârâyana, Edition in the Bibliotheca Indica.

3 *Vide* (IV. 1, 1.), page 6 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya. His commentary on the way in which a gender can be determined is metaphysically interesting.

4 *Vide* (III. 2, 2.), page 78 of the same. *Vide* the preceding.

5 *Vide* (I. 1, 5.) of Kanâda.

Atman or soul, and causes perception or Jnâna. Patanjali still recognizes mind as Âsvânta.[1] In his notion of Âtman, he follows the Upanisads, though his interpretation marks progress. He speaks of two Âtmans, internal and corporeal. The action of the one causes pain or pleasure to the other and *vice versa*.[2] Patanjali unlike Kanâda does not consider matter a real substratum,[3] for he distinctly states that matter is an assemblage of qualities.[4] The great question often before the mind of Patanjali was:—What is a form? and in what does it consist?[5] What makes a genus a genus? He speaks of *horseness* as existing in a horse.[6] Abstraction is mentioned;[7] and existence by itself is considered eternal.[8] Patanjali hints that whatever exists may be animated.[9] The hint

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1 *Vide* (I. 1, 6.), page 114 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya. The statement is not decisive.

2 *Vide* (I. 3, 2.), page 255 of the same. He recurs to this subject more than once. The quality of Âtman is distinctly mentioned in the Taittirîya-Upanisad. Epictetus speaks also of two souls. In the Upanisads, psychology (rather elementary) is always given—*Vide* for instance, Kathopanisad.

3 *Vide* (I. 1, 15.) of Kanâda, who recognizes Dravya to be an independent substance to which qualities belong.

4 *Vide* (IV. 1, 1.), page 11 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya, where "Yadi tâvad gunasamudâyo dravyam" is distinctly stated and recognized.

5 In the Mahâbhâsya, Patanjali too often moots questions about Âkriti to need a special reference. *Vide* for instance (II. 1, 1.), page 308 of the same.

6 *Vide* (I. 4, 3.), page 282 of the same.

7 *Vide* the preceding.

8 *Vide* (I. 3, 1.), page 233 of the same.

9 *Vide* (I. 1, 1.), page 12 of the same. The words are "Athavâ sarvam chetanâvat."

is rather rhetorical. He believes that God, the great sustaining Soul, exists, for belief in the existence of the soul is evidence of the Supreme Soul.[1] Reference to the school which considers knowledge to be Dharma or righteousness, is made. This is the Dialectic school of Kanâda or Goutama[2] in its first stage. At this time sacrificial theology was looked at from different points of view. From these considerations, it will be easily seen that psychology was in a state of indefiniteness; that the same thinkers gave conflicting definitions of the same term at different stages of discussion; that intricate psychological problems for the first time appear to be proposed; and that the human mind was not shackled by any dogmatic philosophy so far as a philosophical discussion was concerned. This philosophical activity and the indefinite condition of philosophy point to the approaching advent of a crisis, but it had not as yet come; for Patanjali, so well versed in the analysis of thought, and so zealously devoted to philosophy, does not mention any of the predominant and characteristic doctrines of Yoga philosophy, which is a direct antecedent of Buddhism itself.

Chronological relation of the Schools of Philosophy to Patanjali.

The mode of philosophical thought and discussion prevalent at the time of Patanjali paved

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1 *Vide* (III. 2, 1.), page 68 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya.

2 *Vide* (I. 1, 1.) page 17 of the same. The words are "Athavâ punarastu jnâna eva dharma iti."

the way of the first Mîmânsâ and Yoga systems. In the former system, there is an attempt both at the classification and the explanation of the different sacrifices, their materials, their agents, and their fruit. All these operations involved the application of principles of interpretation, which constitute what may be called theological exegetics as distinguished from grammatical exegetics, which is so thoroughly and comprehensively propounded by Patanjali in his Mahâbhâsya. The duty as inculcated by the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ is to be found in the earliest Brâhmana extant. It is taken up by the Sûtrakâras, the authors of Kalpa, who attempted to systematize the sacrificial lore of their times. The schools of Mîmânsâ-teachers flourished. Jaimini's Mîmânsâ embodies all that these teachers taught. This systematic exposition is not referred to here by the name of the first Mîmânsâ; but the doctrines of Vedic exegetists as they existed at the time of Patanjali. The position of the Vedic exegetists in the history of Mîmânsâ will be discussed hereafter. In Yoga, a new method leading to a new result is evolved. The points discussed in these systems will be succinctly enumerated and explained in the sequel. The important point of discussion was the nature of a form and an individuality. The significance of the discussion of this point was great; for, it bears on the discussion about what was eternal and what, momentary. This discussion resulted in the well-known watch-word (K*sa*nikam ks*a*nikam) of a school of Buddhists. In conformity with the development of philosophical thought here indicated, the schools of philosophy are to be arranged.

I. The first Mimânsâ, as helped by grammar and its logic and as opposed to Yoga, supports the sacrificial theology and forms an important standpoint for chronological review; for, the first Mîmânsâ and Yoga keep up the continuity of the philosophical thought developing at the time of Patanjali. They are silent as to the origin and propagation of Buddhistic doctrines. They advance views as to what is eternal and what is momentary. The first Mîmânsâ helped the religious laity accustomed to think and act in the ways of their ancestors. Yoga was the strong-hold of philosophical dissenters, whose number could not but be small, when compared with the following of the sacrificial system. II. The second group, consisting of the systems of Goutama and Kanâda terminate the discussions originally started at the time of Patanjali. What is eternal and what is momentary—was determined, but their psychology, because it supported theology, entered a dignified protest against the psychology of Yoga. Some allusion to positive dissent of opponents indicates the rise of new teachers. At this time the Buddhistic crisis originates. Buddhism acted on the laity from the convents in which abstruse philosophy which led to the Nirvâna was discussed. On the laity duties of life were inculcated. The desertion or rather the absorption of the laity into Buddhism awakened the orthodoxy. III. A new conflict between the established religion and dissent produced new schools of philosophy—the third group consisting of the systems of Kapila and Bâdarâyana. This chronological view is supported by the facts, that Kâshakritsna, an author of Mîmânsâ,

studied even by women,[1] is mentioned by Patanjali, and is quoted by Bâdarâyaṇa in his system of Vedânta-philosophy; that Yoga does not refer to any antecedent system of philosophy; that both Goutama and Kaṇâda refer to Yoga; that Kapila and Bâdarâyaṇa refer to all systems; and that no reference is made distinctly to Buddhism in Yoga, but that Goutama, Kaṇâda, Kapila, and Bâdarâyaṇa refer to it distinctly and disapprovingly. Again, Badari, a teacher, is quoted by Jaimini, author of the first Mîmânsâ, and Bâdarâyaṇa, probably a grandson of Badari, and author of the Vedânta-Sûtra or latter Mîmânsâ, is said to have composed a commentary on the Yoga-system.

The First Mîmânsâ in relation to Patanjali.

The Kâshakṛitsna,[2] a treatise on Mîmânsâ, is mentioned by Patanjali. It cannot be procured. What its nature and philosophy were, cannot be guessed. The term *Mîmânsâ* occurs in the Sanskrit literature anterior to Patanjali, more prominently in the Âchârya-period, and denotes excogitation and discussion. How were the dicta of the sacrificial theologians to be interpreted in the face of the philosophy that was developed by the Âchâryas? This difficulty led to the First Mîmânsâ. At the time of the Aitareya, and Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇas, this question could not be asked, as no philosophy, that seemed seriously to upset notions of a sacrifice, existed. But at this

[1] (IV. 1, 1.), page 16th of Patanjali. (I. 4, 22.) of the Vedânta-Sûtra.

[2] *Vide* (I. 1, 1.), page 18th of the same.

time intellect was awakened, and Mîmânsâ—philosophical discussion—existed. The ninth Anuvâka of the tenth Prapâthaka of the third Kânda of the Taittirîya Brâhmana deserves to be perused in this connection. About the time of Patanjali, different categories had been recognized: a theory of perception and volition had been proposed. The state of philosophical activity influenced the notions of a sacrifice, and proved the direct cause of the rise of the First Mîmânsâ, which seeks to apply the principle of a generality and an individuality to sacrificial injunctions, recognizes the principle of a form (Âkriti)—for the convenient and conventional interpretation of sacrificial dicta, imparts a psychological aspect to a sacrifice by introducing into it the notion of a mental operation, and subordinates all the categories to that of action. The method of grammatical and Mîmânsâ discussion consists in the large use of maxims called Nyâya.[1] The classification in both is almost the same. Dravya, Guna, and Kriyâ are the three species of words. But is the form of a word as such distinct from the sense it conveys? Is its sense as such distinct from the knowledge it conveys? If the knowledge, as conveyed by a

[1] Mîmânsakas like Patanjali as well as Badari (for Jaimini flourished long after Patanjali and took stock of the materials collected, when the Buddhists had attacked the Brâhmanas) employed exegetical logic for discussing their subjects. The first used it for interpreting the Pâninîyam which he considered as revelation: the last, for interpreting the Vedas and supporting their authority. Compare "Laksana-pratipadoktayoh pratipadoktasyaiva grahanam" with "Shrutir lingâd baliyasi" (First Mîmânsâ).

word, differed from the objects seen, then that which is seen, would differ from that which is known. This was a philosophical difficulty. A form exists eternally and is capable of being known really and directly. This answer raised a second question:—What is the relation between a form and the individuals which it represents? In what—whether in a form or in an individual—does the power of conveying a particular sense, of producing an idea, or of expressing some relationship, dwell? Patanjali refers to these questions often, and attempts to answer them. The *summum bonum* of life is material, both in Patanjali and in Mîmânsâ:—Dharma or righteousness is produced, and it results in happiness or fruit. As the theory of causation was not sufficiently developed, the difficulty of action producing Dharma, and Dharma producing fruit, when long intervals of time passed between them, was not seen, that is, the theory of Apûrva (extraordinary cause) was not propounded. The philosophical activity we have already spoken of, was a cause which could not be suppressed. Philosophical interpretation of sacrificial rules, though very clever, and apparently erudite, could not satisfy an active mind, which the elaborate performance of daily and periodical, great and small, sacrifices repelled. All activity for securing blessings of life in unceasing rotation of births and deaths, necessarily came to be opposed to cessation of all activity consisting in the annihilation of pleasure and pain, and terminating the rotation itself of births and deaths. Thus the Yoga philosophy was a necessity.

The Yoga-philosophy in relation to Patanjali.

Beyond eternal forms, Patanjali recognized the eternal essences,[1] and had a distinct notion of pre-eminent knowledge, contemplation, and superhuman powers.[2] His psychology, though in advance of the philosophers of the Âchârya-period, was based on their speculations. Tradition ascribes the authorship of the Yoga Sûtra, as it exists, to Patanjali himself. But such internal evidence, as the great commentary affords, conflicts with the tradition. Patanjali adduces a proof for the existence of God.[3] Yoga recognizes God and enumerates his attributes.[4] Patanjali believes in a sacrifice producing fruit, and considers it to be ultimate:[5] Yoga aspires after the emancipation of the soul from all sorrow and its transmigration.[6] Patanjali practically uses four kinds of evidence—direct observation, inference, testimony and analogy.[7]

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1 *Vide* (I. 1, 1.), page 13 of Patanjali.

2 He bases his speculations on (X. 72, 2.), of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ. The word Dhîrâs in the original is construed into Dhyânavantas, *i.e.*, contemplative ; Manasâ into Prajnâna, *i.e.*, pre-eminent knowledge. "These contemplative seers framed the original speech by means of pre-eminent knowledge." This is interesting as it shows that Patanjali was not as yet bound by any particular interpretation of the Vedas. The Upanisads had not acquired a binding power.

3 *Vide* (III. 2, 1.), page 68 of Patanjali.

4 *Vide* (I. 24, 25, 26, 27.) of the Yoga Sûtras.

5 Patanjali states that the end of learning grammar is to be the superintendent of a sacrifice. See his Paspashâ.

6 *Vide* (IV. 30, 31, 32, 34.) of the Yoga Sûtras.

7 His application of Pratyaksa, Anumâna, Upamâna, and Shâbda, is to be seen throughout the Mahâbhâsya.

Yoga omits the last.[1] Patanjali does not recognize the evolution-theory of cosmogony, in short, he does not propound any theory on the subject: Yoga distinctly and positively develops it.[2] The word *asmitâ* which means consciousness, Patanjali does not use: but it is a common word in Yoga.[3] Patanjali's term for volition is Adhyavasâya.[4] Yoga uses Nirmâ*n*a-Chitta.[5] Patanjali's term for the highest generality is Sattâ;[6] the phrase for the same in Yoga is Vastu-tattva.[7] The former is satisfied with a logical entity, the result of abstraction called by Patanjali "Satopi avivaksâ.[8]" The latter considers Vastu-tattva as the essence of all things.[9] Patanjali expresses only a surmise as to the existence of a vital activity.[10] Yoga recognizes it.[11] Patanjali says that Sattâ is determined by judgment:[12] Yoga says that the perma-

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1 *Vide* (I. 7.) of the Yoga Sûtras.

2 *Vide* the fourth Pâda called Siddhi of the Yoga Sûtras.

3 *Vide* (IV. 4.) of the Yoga Sûtras.

4 *Vide* (I. 3, 2.), page 246 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâ*s*ya. All the inner operations are traced to action or K*r*iyâ. This is significant.

5 *Vide* the same.

6 *Vide* (2. 1, 1.), page 315 of Patanjali, who naturally states that a word is Sattâ for he says "we are Shabda-pramâ*n*akâh."

7 *Vide* (IV. 14.) of the Yoga Sûtras.

8 *Vide* (I. 4, 3.), page 281 of Patanjali.

9 *Vide* (IV. 14.) of the Yoga Sûtras.

10 *Vide* (3. 1, 1.), page 12 of the same. "Chetanâ" is the word used. The surmise is significant as it follows a discussion about the absence of Chetanâ as stated in a Vârtika.

11 *Vide* (II. 52.) of the Yoga Sûtras.

12 *Vide* (III. 3, 2.), page 95 of Patanjali's Mahâbhâ*s*ya.

nent and eternal in man (Buddhi-tattva) discerns its identity with the eternal in nature (Purusa) by practising its rules.[1] Patanjali says that a form (Âkriti) ultimates in the individuals it represents.[2] Yoga is opposed to this statement of Patanjali.[3] The comparison of the philosophy of Patanjali with the philosophy of Yoga will show that philosophical questions were only mooted at the time of Patanjali; and that at the time of Yoga, the problems were solved in a way. From the evidence of psychology and language, the conclusion is to be drawn that Patanjali, the great commentator, is not the author of the Yoga Sûtras.

The teachings of Yoga.

The Yoga Sûtras are divided into four Pâdas. The first Pâda treats of mental absorption (Samâdhi), which is the means of restraining the mind—the first great object sought; the second Pâda, of the means (Sâdhana) of accomplishing Samâdhi; the third, of the possession of superhuman powers (Vibhûti) as the result of contemplation; the fourth and last, of emancipation of the soul (Kaivalya). 1. *The basis of the Yoga philosophy* is Mîmânsâ. The desires are without a beginning: they seek gratification which is secured by works, that which man says, does, or thinks of, that is, his experience produces an

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1 *Vide* the fourth Pâda of the Yoga Sûtras.

2 *Vide* (II. 1, 1.), page 308 of Patanjali.

3 The Samâdhi discards the particulars, *i.e.*, the visible, seeking the eternal.

impression. These impressions collectively produce desires, which lead to works. Hence, says Mîmânsâ, works are necessary for securing what is sought, as soon as what is sought is obtained, and enjoyed, new works require to be performed. Thus, the doings of man produce a desire, and the desire is gratified by his doings. He is ever involved in a series of worldly activities. This is Pravritti. Yoga recognizes this reasoning, and proposes a method, a plan, by which man can be emancipated from the ever-recurring activity, and in one sense, can cease to be. Thus Pravritti is opposed to Nivritti. 2. The *Cosmological theory*:— Kapila develops it and imparts to it a congruity. Ishvara or God, Prakriti or nature, Mâyâ or Âvarana-mala (an impurity which covers the mind), Manas or the mind, Âtman or the soul, Chitta or understanding, Sthûla and Sûksma, that is, the gross and fine (as applied to matter), the three qualities by names different from Rajoguna, Tamoguna or Sattvaguna—all these are mentioned in Yoga, but not in the Sânkhya-order, nor with its definiteness and precision: distinctive functions are not assigned to these. Again, God is never affected; but the understanding (Chitta) of man is always affected 3. *The theory of perception*:— the Chitta when affected, is influenced by a desire (Uparâga); by this Uparâga, knowledge is produced. The mind is on the one side, and the objects are on the other side. The connecting link between them is Uparâga. This is neither Vaishesika nor Vedânta-theory of perception. Âtman, Chitta or Chit is reflected in knowledge. 4. The *Theory of*

volition :—The sense, that *I am* (Asmitâ) or consciousness, produces a state of mind called Nirmâna-Chitta, analogous to volition which results in action. 5. Now, *general principles of theology*:—Life is full of sorrow. What is the origin of this sorrow? The first act (Ârabdha Karma), that is, activity begun. All the acts performed produce an accumulated effect (Karma-Vipâka). The Karma-Vipâka produces a desire for life. Thus the soul is subject to transmigration. The *Plan of Salvation*:—When the Seer (Âtman) sees the seen (objects) as one, then all desire is annihilated, and man is emancipated.

Controversy about moments.

We have a regular controversy in ancient Indian philosophy called Ksana-Vâda. But the origin of it can be traced to the Sûtra (IV. 33.) of the Yoga philosophy, where the uninterrupted succession of moments is brought in. Analogy is the *forte* of philosophical reasoning in India. Systems like Vedânta are almost wholly built upon it. The Mâdhyamikas, a class of Buddhists, took up the subject of uninterrupted succession of moments by way of analogy, and founded upon it a system of philosophy. Goutama, Kanâda, Kapila, and Bâdarâyana seek to refute the *doctrine of moments* as they feel that it is dissent as opposed to orthodoxy. No mention of moments or their uninterrupted succession is made by Patanjali. His enquiry into the essence of sound (Sphota-Vâda) would have been *materially* helped by this illustration. The absence of any allusion to the doctrine of moments in Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya is chronologically very important.

Corollaries of the teachings of the Yoga-philosophy.

The Sârva-Bhouma-Vrata is prescribed:[1] in fact, permission to practise Samâdhi is granted to all. The Vrata allows Samâdhi or contemplation (Dhyâna) at any time in any place by any body. This permission involved large consequences: caste and its exclusiveness, the complicated rules of sacrifice, and the literature that prescribes it, were declared null and void by what is considered an orthodox system of philosophy. Contemplation raises man to a higher state, and imparts superhuman powers. It terminates the rotation of births and deaths. The restraining of the mind itself and the method prescribed for it involved the discharge of important duties of life:—1. charity, 2. goodness, 3. tranquillity, 4. fortitude, 5. meditation, 6. culture, 7. adaptation of means to an end (this included the acquisition of superhuman powers), 8. extraordinary power, 9. circumspection, and 10. knowledge of universal truth.

Yoga and Buddhism.

Buddhism was principally, originally, and essentially, an intellectual revolution. Shâkya Sinha received a philosophical education. There is *consensus* of testimony on this subject. The Lalita-Vistâra, said to be written about the middle of the

[1] The wording of the Yoga Sûtra referred to is "Jâtideshakâlasamayânavachhinnâh Sârvabhoumâ mahâvratam." (II. 31.).

first century, states that Shâkya learnt Yoga, Vaishesika, and Sânkya. This statement does not conflict with the statements as to the arrangement of philosophical schools we have already made, nor does it affect the force of the evidence produced; for the Lalita-Vistâra shows only that these systems existed at the time it was written, not necessarily that they were studied by Shâkya. If they could be learnt by him, Patanjali would be assigned to still greater antiquity, and the conclusion about to be established would be strengthened. The Buddhistic method of dissent was to retain the Brahmanical names, and to propose and establish new definitions. Thus reform was united with a sort of conservatism.[1] The monastery, the great distinguishing feature of Buddhism, was full of life and power, and, being scattered in the monastery, the followers of Yoga were powerless. Such rules of life—as could conduce to the power of contemplation—were enforced. The principles, involved in the contrast pointed out in the first section of this chapter, were practically adopted, carried to all their consequences, and fearlessly inculcated on the people. A corollary of the sub-heads already referred to embodied the Buddhistic doctrine "that a devotee had to pass through different stages of knowledge and power before he could become a perfect Buddha." The abstract principle of Chitta-Viksepa was rendered concrete by the recognition of a Person whom the Buddhists called Mâra, who resembles Satan in every respect. The doctrine of Nirvâna is identical with the Kaivalya (eman-

[1] *Vide* Dhammapada.

cipation of the soul) as taught by Yoga. The duties of life already enumerated[1] are the Pâramitâ (ten perfections) of the Buddhists.

Evidence summed up, and the conclusion stated.

The different stages, through which a school of philosophy passes, are dwelt upon in the first chapter. I. In India, which is a large country, and which at the time of Pâṇini had its Eastern, Western, and Northern schools of grammarians, time from 200 to 300 years has generally passed between the third stage of systemization and the fourth stage of interpretation and criticism. Pâṇini flourished, therefore, about 200 years before Patanjali; because the last always calls him an Âchârya, and attaches superstitious importance to his procedure, and adopts an exegetical logic of his own in interpreting him, while he calls the teachers of his time by the name of Guru, Shikṣaka, or Upâdhyâya. Generations of interpreters came between Pâṇini and Patanjali before the exegetical logic, the nature of which has already been explained, was developed. Again Patanjali remarks that Pâṇini was known in his time even to a boy: This is important in-as-much as the reputation acquired would require at least 200 years at the time when no printing press existed, and when, it is said, the art of writing itself did not exist, knowledge being traditionally handed down from teacher to pupil. II. Patanjali must have come a hundred years before Buddha; because the progress of thought and the development of

[1] See 313th page.

philosophy which the Yoga-system and Buddhism mark, would require a hundred years under favourable circumstances. The chronology of Buddha being accepted as 500 years before Christ, it follows that Patanjali wrote his commentary about 600 years B. C.; and that Pâṇini taught his pupils about 800 B. C. We have gone through the argument built upon philosophical facts. We believe the evidence yet to be adduced will corroborate the conclusion drawn. We will proceed to the consideration of literary evidence.

Section III.

LITERATURE OF THE ÂCHÂRYA-PERIOD.

The literature of this period is many-sided. Poetry of every description was written. Drama was cultivated. Novels were composed. Every field of science was investigated. The principles of architecture, music, and sculpture were well-known. Medicine made progress. Astronomy was particularly learnt. Astrology was not neglected. Agriculture received due attention. Special attention was paid to politics and military tactics. We can present only a general outline of the history of this literature, specially in relation to Pâṇini and his successors.

Sanskrit once spoken.

Some scholars maintain that Sanskrit was never spoken. If Sanskrit were never spoken, it would afford in the history of the world,

the only instance of the existence of a complicated, philosophical, romantic, prose, and poetical literature, as well of astonishing dimensions as of unusual depth, at least for the ancient world. Until this unique, and in one sense extraordinary phenomenon, is explained, the statement in question cannot be accepted. But the positive evidence in Pâṇini as to Sanskrit being spoken in his time, deserves serious attention. He mentions the lingual usages of the Eastern Âryas as they differed from the Western.[1] He gives rules of accenting words in the Bhâsâ, and marks the accents as they differed in the Chhandas.[2] His rules as to the formation of contemptuous, piteous, and endearing diminutives are interesting.[3] Some grammatical terms such as Dvigu and Bahuvrîhi reveal the pastoral condition of society—grammatical terms of an artificially developed language never spoken ought not to include marks not likely to partake exclusively of grammatical terminology as such. Optional usages are carefully given by Pâṇini. Such changes as popular usage enforces are mentioned. For instance *Palyanka* for a more correct form—*Paryanka*.[4] In an artificial language the complicated rules of Âtmanepada and Parasmaipada could have had no room. Such arbitrary usages a language spoken generally could alone warrant. The same remarks can be made as to the rules of declensions, conjugations, and

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1 *Vide* Pâṇini (6. 2, 74.).

2 *Vide* for instance (6. 1, 170.) of the same.

3 *Vide* Pâṇini (5. 2, 73-81.).

4 *Vide* Pâṇini (8. 2, 22.).

reduplication. Words, whether nouns or verbs, most in use in ancient India are as irregularly formed as in any spoken language. These items of evidence can be cumulated to any extent, but suffice it to remark that the complexity and variety of Sanskrit idiom are the results of its being extensively spoken.

A distinction as to dead and living Sanskrit.

In considering the evidence which literature at the time as well of Pâṇini as of Patanjali affords, the distinction between the Chhandas and Bhâsâ of Pâṇini, and between the Bhâsâ and Apabhransha of Patanjali, deserves specially to be marked. A few rules of Pâṇini regulate the formation of words and the idiom of the obsolete literature of the Chhandas, and most of them bear on the formation of words of a living language; while a new element had already come into existence when Patanjali flourished. The language, which Pâṇini calls Bhâsâ, had ceased to be spoken in its purity: some words were corrupted: new words were used. The old Sanskrit, once spoken in all the settlements of the Âryas, had begun about the time of Patanjali to undergo a process of corruption, dissolution, and assimilation with the dialects spoken by the non-Âryas. Patanjali distinctly states that the words that had already been enforced by vernacular dialects were many. This distinction between obsolete Chhandas and living Bhâsâ on the one hand, and the language of literary and polished society, and the rude and uncultivated cant (Apa-

bhransha) on the other hand,[1] shows that considerable time elapsed between Pâṇini and Patanjali —Pâṇini, a distinguished author about the middle of the Âchârya-period, and Patanjali about the end of the exegetical period.

Elements of chronological importance.

The writers mentioned by Pâṇini afford great help in fixing the chronology of his predecessors. Authors of treatises on different subjects, studied and cultivated in his time, have necessarily come to be mentioned in an exhaustive treatise on grammar. Koutsa and Toulvali are propounders of sacrificial dogmas and are noticed by Âshvalâyana in his Shrouta-Sûtra. Shounaka, the reputed author of the *Ri*k-Prâtishâkhya, being noticed by Pâṇini, necessarily imparts importance to the literature of his time in connection with this investigation. Pâṇini draws attention to sacrificial treatises called Brâhmaṇas.[2] Grammatical analysis and synthesis supplied adequately the place of psychological discussions and theories ; the authors of the Brâhmaṇas, in attempting to rationalize their strange sacrificial works, often indulge in cosmological discussions which are as instructive and entertaining as any of the cosmological theories of the ancients. The books which were the source of psychological and cosmological speculations secured great reverence. The easier method

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[1] *Vide* Patanjali's Mahâbhâṣya. (I. 1, 1.), pages 5 and 6.

[2] *Vide* Pâṇini (4. 3, 102, 107.), and *Vide* (II. 6, 17.), (V. 2, 5.) of Âshvalâyana's Shrouta-Sûtra.

of recitation or cramming, for acquiring the position of a learned man, gradually superseded the harder method of excogitation.[1] Prâtishâkhya-literature thus became necessary. The authors of the Prâtishâkhyas preceded Pâṇini. To support this statement we will give evidence. 1. Tradition in India places Prâtishâkhyas before Pâṇini.[2] 2. Authors of Prâtishâkhyas are mentioned by Pâṇini.[3] 3. The contrivances adopted by Pâṇini for abbreviating his statements were not known to the Prâtishâkhya-kâras, for instance, the Pratyâhâra-method of enumerating letters. We believe, the particular arrangement of letters attributed by tradition to Shiva was not made. The way for adopting the Pratyâhâra-method was not paved. The arrangement of letters, as given at the beginning of Pâṇini's treatise, does not discover at present its methodical and philosophical importance; yet most of the brevity of Pâṇini's Sûtras depends on the Pratyâhâra-arrangement. Its philosophical importance, so thoroughly consistent with method, is to be seen from the way in which the letters, whether as mere phonetic elements or as ultimate analytic elements of sound, can be grouped without the least inconvenience. The distinction between Ârsa (of the *Ṛisi*) and Anârsa[4] (not of the *Ṛisi*) is

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1 Yâska condemns learning by rote in very strong terms.

2 Manoramâ defines a Prâtishâkhya to be grammar devoted exclusively to the analysis of Vedic words.

3 *Vide* for instance (4. 3, 106.) of Pâṇini.

4 *Vide* (I. 1, 16.) of the same. Anârsa had assumed a definite name. It was Upasthita.

chronologically important. The *Ri*sis preceded Pâ*n*ini by some centuries. They had not taught what Pâ*n*ini taught: they had not moved in the atmosphere in which Pâ*n*ini moved: they had never been engaged in the way in which Pâ*n*ini was engaged. The devotion, which produced the thrilling utterances of the Vedic *Ri*sis, was now superseded by the elaborate care with which their utterances were merely reiterated. The Prâtishâkhyas regulate the method of this reiteration. The Sanhitâ had been divided into Padas; and the complex methods of iteration and reiteration were employed in pronouncing it. Pâ*n*ini notices these methods;[1] and yet the authors of Prâtishâkhyas were mere Âchâryas. The *Ri*si-period had already passed away. Again, the system of holding meetings, where philosophical subjects were freely discussed, and where difficulties started by thinkers were solved, was perhaps more ancient than the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ itself. Many hymns of the *Ri*g-Veda show their nature; and their power is revealed by a word. As the word "civilized" in the English language is fraught with historical interest, so the word "Sabhya" noticed by Pâ*n*ini in (4. 4, 105.) deserves special attention. It originally means "such as is met with in a meeting;" but its secondary meaning is "polite." This meaning was thoroughly fixed before the times of Pâ*n*ini. Meetings, where philosophical or literary laurels were awarded, perhaps excited much interest. This view

[1] *Vide* Pâ*n*ini (4. 2, 61.).

is confirmed by a modern custom. There is no Brahmanical custom in India that cannot be at least partially traced to ancient times. No custom has been entirely abolished, though every custom is more or less overlapped by other puerile customs —the growth of time. At present (at least some twenty years ago) the author of a treatise, as soon as it is finished, takes it to some renowned place like Benares, where a strong Brahmanical community exists, and places it before learned men in a meeting assembled. The president then takes up a straw and inserts it in the treatise, the merits of which are to be determined. A page is turned up. It is carefully and critically examined as affording a general test of the merits of the whole treatise. This examination being over, the whole treatise is either approved or condemned according to the worth of the page. This is still called *straw*[1]*-justice*. In these meetings, those who could successfully exhibit their powers of memory, were perhaps encouraged. The Âchâryas assembled in meetings also for discussion. During the period of the Brahmavâdins, the people appear to have degenerated. Regular schools of reciters appear to have existed. The educational momentum thus created could not be resisted by such intelligent thinkers as Âchâryas. They succumbed to general influences, tacitly approved of the movement of the community, and assisted the method of mechanical repetition by attempting to remove the difficulties in its way. The Prâtishâkhya-

[1] Shalâkâ-nyâya.

literature owes its origin to a sort of a blind impulse that moves a whole community. The *Ri*sis that are mentioned in the Prâtishâkhyas are quoted by Pâ*n*ini whenever he gives rules for combination or permutation of letters. When the rules for mere pronunciation, proper intonation, and modulation of the voice, were to be framed, the principles of phonetics and grammatical classification necessarily came to be investigated. Hence something of the general system of grammar analogous to that of Pâ*n*ini is to be found in Prâtishâkhyas. But they subordinated grammatical knowledge to the principles of mechanical repetition of passages. They cultivated grammar, for it subserved their purpose. An Achârya boldly protests against the system of repeating the Vedas mechanically—a practice to which Pâ*n*ini distinctly refers. The Âchârya perceives the evil and condemns it in as strong terms as he can. His writing a commentary on important passages of the Vedas, composing a vocabulary, and discussing theological and philosophical doctrines of the age, is thus easily explained. He belonged to a school, which held that, to derive any fruit from reading the Vedas, they should be intelligently and critically studied—a school which was opposed to those who learnt to repeat the mere text, without any attention to the sense of a passage. Yâskâchârya's writings are, therefore, re-actionary. Two systems of education existed—the one of mere rote, and the other of intelligent and critical study. The absence of the art of writing is explained by insisting upon the mechanical theory

of education. It is said that knowledge of every kind was assiduously stored up in memory by students in ancient times.[1] When two systems, opposed to each other, co-existed, the general application of the theory is much weakened. At present both the systems prevail. But one that repeats his Veda mechanically is always unequal to the task of undertaking to learn it intelligently. One, who learns grammar or dialectics, cannot learn any thing by mere rote. So the foundation, on which the theory of the absence of writing in ancient India is raised, does not appear to be strong enough. The assumption—that Indian memory is so extraordinarily retentive, that it can remember treatises upon treatises—is not based on facts as they can be observed at present. In India, those who learn a Veda or a mere portion of a Veda by mere rote, are obliged to spend the whole of their time, in after-life, in merely revising and retaining what they learn, when young students. Failure in revising timely, even for a month, tells on their power of repetition. Pâṇini notices a foreign alphabet.[2] This question as to existence of writing in ancient India is introduced, as it throws light on the history of grammar. The art of writing was usefully employed in the early ages of philosophy. Lists

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[1] It is strange that the same author, who, when establishing the statement that writing was unknown to ancient India, assumes that the memory of the ancient Indians was extraordinarily retentive, should assume that the ancient Indian Âryas were forgetful, when he seeks to explain the phenomenon of the origin of Âryan Mythology.

[2] *Vide* the same (4. 1, 49.).

of words apparently submitting to a general principle of classification, or having the same sense, were drawn up. These lists formed Ga*n*a which were appreciated. Ga*n*apati, the Lord of Ga*n*as, was a name of Brahma*n*aspati. It was gradually recognized as knowledge itself. It was Brahma.[1] It was the Veda. Prâtishâkhyas give Ga*n*as. Yâska's treatise is a collection of such Ga*n*as. The key-stone of Pâ*n*ini's system is Ga*n*as. Ga*n*apâ*th*as are, therefore, ancient. They preceded grammatical generalization; and systematic treatises on grammar like that of Pâ*n*ini followed. We have attempted a short history of grammar to show how years after years are necessary for the development of a system, and what its stages are. The Âchârya-period perhaps extended over two or three centuries.

The literature antecedent to Pâ*n*ini.

Awakened to the sense of studying the Vedas intelligently by Yâska, and aided by those who had drawn up long lists of analogous words, the Âchâryas gave a new impulse to the education of the time when Pâ*n*ini flourished. The Âchârya-period, it has been already observed, reveals a many-sided literature. The state of literature at this time is likely to afford some aid in considering the question of the chronology of Pâ*n*ini. (*a*). Pâ*n*ini uses the word *chhandas* in two senses—

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[1] *Vide* the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a (I. 21.) which identifies Brahma, Bṛihaspati, and Ga*n*apati.

metre and the metrical portion of the Sanhitâs.[1] The *Ri*k-Sanhitâ itself refers to prose-literature.[2] The Taittirîya-Sanhitâ includes much prose. The word *Mantra* was applied to the Sanhitâ as a whole, whether it was prose or poetry. Âshvalâyana mentions Mantras which are the means of a sacrifice.[3] Nigama, on the contrary, appears to be a treatise which gives selections from the Chhandas. Pâ*n*ini often refers to Chhandas, Mantras, and Nigamas, when he gives rules of Vedic grammar. The *Ri*k-Sanhitâ and the Yajus-Sanhitâ were thoroughly established at this time. They are often alluded to. The Adhvaryu is once identified with the Yajur-Veda itself, for the sacrificial system was completely established.[4] The Sâmâni are classified as good or bad;[5] and the Sanhitâ of the Atharva-Angiras is not once mentioned. There are reasons for this silence. At this time three Vedas were only known. Most of the hymns of the Sanhitâ of the Atharva-Angiras are adaptations, if not a copy of the *Ri*k-verses. The grammar of the *Ri*k and Yajus writings applied to the Sanhitâ of the Atharva-Angiras. Pâ*n*ini carefully and critically examined the Sanhitâ-literature. (*b*) There are many Brâhma*n*as. It was pre-eminently the period of this literature. Some Kalpa-Sûtras had been known: others were preparing. The Anu-Brâh-

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1 *Vide* Pâ*n*ini (8. 3, 94.)

2 *Vide* the *Ri*g-Veda-Sanhitâ (X. 90, 9.) and (X. 106, 3.).

3 *Vide* Âshvalâyana's Shrouta-Sûtra (I. 1, 21.).

4 *Vide* Pâ*n*ini (2. 4, 4.).

5 *Vide* the same (8. 3, 98.), the Ga*n*a—Susâmâdi—includes Duhsâmâni.

ma*n*as or subordinate Brâhma*n*as[1] were a sort of appendices, and some of the Upanisads are known as such. Distinction was made between Yâjnikya or sacrifices handed down from generation to generation, and sacrifices taught by Shruti or recognized literature. The Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a distinctly mentions a Shrouta *Risi*.[2] (*c*) The division into Adhyâyas or Anuvâkas was established.[3] A great deal of profane literature was known, for Shlokas and a Vi*n*a (an Indian lute) or verses and a musical instrument are mentioned together.[4] Those things or notions which are associated in ordinary life or conversation generally come to submit to the same grammatical rule. New books were prepared. A distinct mention of Gâthâs is made,[5] that is, such as do not form a part of any Sanhitâ or such as do not constitute the Mantra. The Mahâbhârata, whatever its magnitude may be, is mentioned.[6] It is plain that the stories—of Yudhis*th*ira, Arjuna, Vâsudeva, Kunti, and Kaikeyî—were well-known. The Chhândogya-Upanisad, which Pâ*n*ini notices,[7] mentions Devakî-putra, the son of Devakî. Commentaries on Sûtras were written.[8] The class included in (4. 3, 73.) mentions some profane sciences, such

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1 *Vide* Âshvalâyana's Shrouta Sûtra (II. 8, 11.).

2 *Vide* Aitareya Brâhma*n*a (VII. 1.), Mâdhava Sâya*n*a explains the Shrouta *Risi* to be the son of Shruta. This requires to be examined.

3 *Vide* Pa*n*ini (5. 2, 60.).

4 *Vide* the same (3. 1, 25.).

5 *Vide* the same (3. 2, 23.).

6 *Vide* the same (6. 2, 38.).

7 *Vide* the same (4. 3, 129.).

8 *Vide* the same (5. 3, 90.).

as the knowledge of limbs, the knowledge of war, and the knowledge of dwellings.

The times of Pâṇini.

All the literature known to Pâṇini was divided into four classes:—inspired[1] books; discourses;[2] an original[3] system; and an original composition.[4] The words used by Pâṇini are significant and distinctive. I. Some of the sacred seers are mentioned such as Kali and Vâmadeva. Their works were *seen*. II. Works pre-eminently pronounced: Tittiri, Varatantu, Khandika, Ukha, Kâshyapa and Koushika delivered discourses. III. Works known: Pâṇini's grammar is an example of a work developing an original system. IV. A book made. Jâlûka, and Bhaikurâṭa are mentioned as works of this class. The works *seen* were considered to be works inspired. At the time of Pâṇini, the doctrine of inspiration was fixed and defined. Though in an Upaniṣad, the *Ṛ*iṣis are called Makers of Mantras, yet the general belief was that Mantras had been *seen*, that is, inspired, and not made. But there is one circumstance specially remarkable in this connection. The seer, not of a *Ṛ*ik or Yajus, but of a Sâma, is referred to by Pâṇini. The *Ṛ*ik came first; but the Yajus almost co-existed. Perhaps the seers of these had done their work, and passed away. But the seers of the Sâma were remembered at the time of Pâṇini, who was

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1 *Vide* Pâṇini (4. 2, 7.).

2 *Vide* the same (4. 3, 101.).

3 *Vide* the same (4. 3, 115.).

4 *Vide* the same (4. 3, 116.).

probably nearer the development of the Sâman than that of the Ṛik or Yajus. A number of lecturers is enumerated by Pâṇini. The activities of the teacher and the taught were great. The pupils of Vâishampâyana lectured to their pupils. Now, what is the place of these lectures in this classification? Did the works exist, of which these lectures were mere commentaries? Did the teachers call their works mere lectures modestly like Julius Cæsar? The definition of the third class of works —known without any instruction—throws light on the second class. In the case of the second class, original instruction was necessary. This original instruction was derived either from Mantras seen, or from traditions handed down from generation to generation. This is the only way in which distinction between the second and third classes of works can be explained. Commentaries on Mantras were Brâhmaṇas, and the rules, systematizing sacrificial knowledge as inculcated by the Mantras and Brâhmaṇas, were embodied in the Kalpa-Sûtras which were arranged on a system. At the time of Pâṇini, works of the second and third classes were composed. But by the side of the theological literature consisting of the second and third classes of works, profane literature was developed. The fourth class indicates its nature, its extent, and its scope. This view of literature affords considerable aid in fixing the general chronology of Pâṇini. Kâtyâyana came after Pâṇini. His notices of literary works indicate enlarged extent and scope. At the time of Patanjali, additional departments of knowledge were opened up and cultivated, and they began to bear fruit.

The times of Kâtyâyana.

The great Vârtikakâra was an Âchârya. And the Âchârya-period divides itself into two parts according to the way in which philosophical pursuits were followed. Pâṇini flourished when philosophy was investigated; Kâtyâyana, when scholastic distinctions were made; Patanjali, when reverence for ancient writings being established, the science of exegetics was cultivated. Vârtikas, now known, discover three distinct and different strata :—Kârikâs or Shloka-Vârtikas, traditional Vârtikas which end in "it is remembered," and opposition-Vârtikas which dictate a rule in the style of the Sûtras. There are Vârtikas which are not noticed by Patanjali; but which occur in the Vârtika-pâṭha as it exists at present. Again, there is not a single Vârtika in the Pâṭha itself which is not found in the Kâshikâ-Vṛitti, or in Bhaṭṭoji, or in his commentators. This gives grounds for believing that enlarged or reduced, the Vârtika-literature had vitality at least up to the time of the Kâshikâ-Vṛitti. At the time of Pâṇini, the Prâtishâkhyas were so well-known, that he borrowed their phraseology as if it had been thoroughly recognized and universally understood. Kâtyâyana reiterates their phraseology as if they had been forgotten. His amendments of Pâṇini's Sûtras betray scholasticism, which has a power of encouraging strange discussions from a narrowness of spirit, which the want of a general grasp of a subject, in relation to other cognate subjects, fosters, and which devotion to a branch of a subject, closely

and laboriously studied, yet incapable of further elucidation or development, cannot but bring into play. The Âran*y*aka-literature, which is a connecting link between theological and psychological scholasticism, and which was quietly growing up at the time of Pân*i*ni, was reaped and stowed away at the time of Kâtyâyana, for a Vârtika names it by amending a rule of Pân*i*ni. Purân*a*s were not known to Pân*i*ni. This department appears now in its developed form. The fact—that Shuka, son of Vyâsa, is noticed in a Vârtika—bears out this statement. A term like Shâstrakr*i*t sufficiently characterizes the times of Vârtikakâras. A curtain had fallen on antiquity with its *Ri*sis and its Brahmavâdins chanting Chhandas, composing Mantras, or expounding Vyâkhyânas. Theology had made way for psychology. The Âran*y*aka-literature was recognized. The compass of literature thus extended itself. New branches of knowledge attracted attention; and the fidelity, the assiduity, and enthusiasm, with which Patanjali critically comments on the writings of Pân*i*ni, indicate the ascendency which reverence for mere antiquity had already commenced to establish.

The Exegetical period.

Three phases seem to characterize the exegetical period. First, inferences are drawn from the writings of Pân*i*ni himself, and on these inferences, all the grammatical principles and doctrines, recognized by teachers like Patanjali, are built. One or two generations of teachers could not develop all the Jnâpakas to be found in Patanjali. The

inferential method of interpretation, having once secured attention, could not be systematized without much labour. About a century is at least necessary for its passing through all the stages. Secondly, the inferential method led to the discovery, that the grammatical literature, which had grown in opposition or rather by way of amendment of the writings of Pâṇini, could not stand its ground, as most of the additions made by Âchâryas like Kâtyâyana could be derived from the Pâṇinîyam. The tendency was to set aside the Vârtikas. The Pratyâkhyâna-literature followed the Jnâpaka-literature. Thirdly, the growth of the spirit of the inferential method evolved certain formulæ of exegesis. These constituted the Paribhâsâs which have already been divided into special and general. The last are common to grammatical as well as to theological exegesis or the First Mîmânsâ. We will discuss this subject at some length in our history of philosophy. All this literature, consisting of three different strata even so far as it is extant, is so complex and so varied, that at least a period of two hundred years is required to explain its growth, that is, Pâṇini came about two hundred years, and Kâtyâyana about a hundred years before Patanjali. We believe that this statement will be borne out by the state of literature at the time of Patanjali.

The times of Patanjali.

Literature about this time appears to have begun to develop a new phase. The feelings of those, who had had nothing to do with regular schools, seem to have been touched and roused. The

common people were instructed by a class of popular preachers, and entertained by dramatists. Scholasticism, dialectics, and abstruse metaphysics, were the pursuits of the leaders of society. A few, however, condescended to cultivate useful arts. Stories about Yayâti and Vâsavadattâ were composed and recited. No mention of a regular dramatic treatise is made; but some plays were exhibited. The story of Vâsudeva having killed Kansa seems to have been popular. But there is one thing deserving special attention:—as yet, Vâsudeva—a Ksatriya—and Vâsudeva—a god—were differently accented and pronounced, and were not confounded. Vâsudeva—a Ksatriya—had lived, worked, and died. Nothing superhuman was attributed to him. Vâsudeva also happened to be a name of a god. In the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, which is the encyclopædia of philosophy and literature of the time—such subjects as rhetoric, medicine, and poetry, which was considered almost as worthy as the Chhandas themselves, were cultivated. Dramatic pieces were sung: reciters of stories chanted Shlokas. Romances were listened to with great attention. Wild boys, who were characterized as crows by teachers, were perhaps influenced for evil by the dramatic corps, or perhaps their feelings were touched by popular preachers. The lower classes had made considerable progress, as they could have regular books explained to them. Those, considered to be privileged, seem to have lost a little of their prestige.[1] Patanjali

[1] *Vide* Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya, Benâres edition, (II. 4, 1.), pages 404 and 405 of the first volume. The dialogue runs thus:—"Prâjitâ

narrates a dialogue between a grammarian and a coachman, which indicates the direction in which intellectual forces had commenced to act. The coachman finds fault with the grammarian, and charges him of ignorance of the science which he pretends to have studied. The dialogue is interesting as it shows how the class of the educated had enlarged; how it included perhaps mere pretenders; and how far it had ceased to secure willing respect. Patanjali always cites passages from the Vedic literature extending over the four Vedas—a fact which warrants the conclusion that antiquity which recognized the three Vedas only had passed away, though it did not cease to inspire scholars.

The compass of literature,

Literature now included all the Shâkhâs of the four Vedas, controversial writings,[1] modern and ancient stories, and medicine. The catalogue is intended to be exhaustive. Grammar, prosody, astronomy, the Kalpasûtra, and the rest were considered to be accessory to the Vedas. The history of the Svâdhyâya (the school curriculum) is important. In the *Ri*g-Veda, its compass is limited.

—even this (form) becomes established. And what? Sir, is this form wished? It is well wished; for some grammarian indeed said —who (is) the Pravetâ (coachman) of this carriage? The coachman said :—Oh, good Sir! I (am) the Prâjitâ (coachman) of this carriage. The grammarian said :—(Prâjitâ is) an ungrammatical form. The coachman said :—the fool knows the rule (of Pâ*ṇ*ini), but not the isti (of the teachers). This form is wished. The grammarian said :—Oh! well, indeed, we are oppressed by this ill-woven (jargon)."

1 *Vide* Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya, Benâres edition, (I. 1, 1.), page 16.

In the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa,[1] it shows considerable development. It receives its specific name in the Shatapatha,[2] where its merits are specially dwelt upon. It is enlarged in the Âraṇyaka-literature.[3] The catalogue given by Patanjali merely sums up all the branches that are mentioned in the last. The catalogue of works deserving attention was now permanently fixed so far as original thought is concerned. The enumeration of authoritative literary works is fraught with great evil. Whether a thought was orthodox or heterodox could be determined by applying the principles of exegetical logic—a social condition at once detrimental to progress of every kind, and almost verging on stagnation and corruption. The catalogue referred to does not mention any of the six schools of philosophy. Thus the Buddhistic crisis, which became a fruitful source of intellectual agitation, and which revolutionized orthodox thought, had not come.

Floating literature.

A number of Shlokas were on the lips of every teacher, who often quoted them. They treat of all subjects: some enjoin dutifulness: others

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1 *Vide* (II. 6, 5.) and (II. 8, 8.), where knowledge is called Vâk as in the Ṛik-Sanhitâ, and again, (III. 12, 8.) as well as (III. 10, 11.) of the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa which gives the story of Bharadvâja.

2 *Vide* (XI. 5, 6, 13.), page 865 Weber's edition of the Shatapatha where the Svâdhyâya is mentioned as one of the Panchayajnas. The literary works mentioned are—Anushâsanâni, Vidyâ, Vâkovâkam, Itihâsapurâṇam, Gâthâ, Nârâshansis.

3 *Vide* the Chhândogya-Upanisad (III. 2, 6.).

popularly explain theological principles. Some embody popular feelings such as contempt towards a lower caste: others magnify the importance of a literary work. Some are simply humorous: others enumerate the different senses of a common word. Some generalize the grammatical applications of a term: others point out the exact bearings of a generality. Some merely exemplify a Sûtra: others set aside an original Sûtra of Pâṇini. Some terminate in "they know": others in "it is remembered." Some define words borrowed from vernacular dialects. Some attempt a summary of a few Sûtras of Pâṇini: others describe either natural scenery or the exploits of the heroes of the Kṣatriya-class. Some explain the formation of an established vernacular word: others restrict the sense of a popular word. Almost every variety of metre occurs. Composed by all classes of authors, representing all varieties of style and taste, embued with the religious and literary feelings of the age, as yet adhering to Vedic thought, and cherishing sacrificial aspirations, not once betraying any dread of opposition to Brahmanical supremacy, not even once indulging in any contempt towards inferior, but ambitious opponents, now soaring into ethereal regions of abstract philosophy, now sinking to the low depths of dogmatism, and religious superciliousness,—this floating literature throws much light on the tendencies of the age, affords an insight into the under-currents of popular thought and feeling, and supplies the means of drawing a line of demarkation between antiquity influenced by the instruc-

tion and example of pure aspiring Aryas, and the dawn of the middle ages in which the different non-Âryan races were almost prepared to assert their natural rights and to rise to the level of their instructors and rulers. Authority had exhausted its energies: liberty had not as yet commenced to energize. Vasi*stha* and Vishvâmitra, who represented Âryan power and unrivalled supremacy, had passed away. Vyâsa who sought to popularize the thoughts and feelings of antiquity had come upon the social stage: the populace was now addressed by the Pourâ*ni*kas, reciters of popular stories handed down from antiquity.

Poetry.

The writings of poets were established. They were declared to be like the Chhandas.[1] The recognition of poetry indicates the existence of renowned poets. Who could these poets be? They could be none other than Vâlmîki, Vyâsa, and many others, whose names have not come down. The Taittirîya Prâtishâkhya mentions Vâlmîki.[2] A Vârtika[3] of Kâtyâyana mentions Vyâsa. These names occur in the chronological order assigned to them by tradition. Internal evidence based on social or geographical notices in the poems will doubtless support this chronology. Vâlmîki flourished before Pâ*ni*ni. Vyâsa flourished after him; and the writings of both were known to Patanjali.

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1 Patanjali in his Mahâbhâsya reiterates the saying—chhandovat Sûtrâ*ni*.

2 *Vide* the Taittirîya Prâtishâkhya (V. 36.)

3 *Vide* the Vârtika on the Sûtra of Pâ*ni*ni (IV. 1, 97 .

The writings of Vâlmîki and Vyâsa were not perhaps so voluminous at the time of Patanjali as at present. At the time of its composition the Râmâyaṇa could be sung off in a day.[1] Tradition asserts that originally the Mahâbhârata consisted of five thousand Shlokas. The history of poetry warrants the statement that two great poets like Vâlmîki and Vyâsa could not come alone. Many poets of different abilities and powers must have tried their chance of getting either livelihood or reputation. We believe, that the multitudinous Upâkhyânas in the Mahâbhârata were originally composed by their own poets, and that in process of time they came to be incorporated with a big poem, when its reputation came to be established. The fondness for writing poetry seems to have been general. The composition of Shlokas is ascribed to a critical grammarian.[2] The chronology of the great poets of ancient India throws considerable light on the chronology of the great grammarians and appears to confirm the statement we have made.

Music.

Three musical notes appear to have prevailed in the recitation of the Vedas.[3] Grammar at any rate was concerned with three notes only. But Shikṣâ, a

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1 *Vide* the traditional story about Kushi-Lavou, the two sons of Râma, singing the Râmâyaṇa in the presence of the Munis, attached to the Bombay edition of the Râmâyaṇa.

2 Such Shlokas are mentioned in the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali.

3 *Vide* the Sûtras of Pâṇini—(I. 2, 29, 30, 31.).

more systematic treatise on phonetics, tries to reconcile these notes with the seven notes known to all musicians.[1] Shiksâ ought thus to throw light on grammar, and naturally aid the system of accentuation; the importance of proper accents in the history of ancient India cannot be too much appreciated, especially in connection with Vedic music. The word Vâsudeva consisting of the same syllables was pronounced in two ways and conveyed two senses according to the syllable accented. The system of accentuation underwent great changes between the time of Pâṇini and Patanjali. Kâtyâyana notices some of these changes. But the great change was that the strictness, with which words were accented at the time of Pâṇini, was much relaxed at the time of Patanjali.

Palmistry and Astrology.

The laxity of accentuation, the admixture of the vernaculars with pure Sanskrit, the distinction between the usages of the educated and uneducated, irrational reverence for or dependence on, the literature and philosophy of antiquity, and the growth of such absurd stories as Bṛihaspati teaching Indra for a thousand years and yet not exhausting the resources of the Sanskrit vocabulary, establish the distinction between the age of Pâṇini and that of Patanjali; illustrate the literary condition of the people as distinct from that of

[1] The Shiksâ here referred to is known among the Hindu learned as the Pâṇinîya-Shiksâ.

scholars; and explain the existence of that mental indolence which suffers itself to be easily deceived. The Yâjnikas misunderstood the ancient religious rites: the astrologers magnified the evil influence of the stars: the palmists succeeded in securing believers: and the story-tellers pampered to the credulity of the age and aggravated it. Patanjali's times, therefore, show that priest-craft had almost over-done itself in attempting to deceive the populace which had not as yet lost capacity for private judgment. Re-action came in the fulness of time.

First glimpses of a conflict.

The necessity for a scholastic dictum against the spirit of innovation had risen:—"particular knowledge (comes) from a commentary, but a statement does not fail to apply because of a doubt."[1] The recognition of this dictum among scholars shows that original treatises were attacked and threatened to be upset. Exegetical logic attempted to stop the current of scepticism. The dictum, that thorough knowledge is the fruit of interpretation, and that a doubt does not set aside the original statement, is an important index of the state of scholastic feeling. But the traces of attempts to oppose interpretation to interpretation could not be discovered, so that scepticism, assuming the garb of orthodoxy, might prove its powerful antagonist. The spirit of religious

[1] See the Paribhâshâ—"Vyâkhyânato visheshapratipattir nahi sandehâdalakshanam."

enquiry or theological investigation, such as the Âra*n*yaka-literature had fostered, died out; religion was now defined to be the "customs and usages of the *Ri*sis."[1]

The analysis of all great revolutions discovers that there are four preparatory processes. The first process simply consists in the rise of a sort of infidelity, not serious, but steady, neither enthusiastic nor disposed to be indifferent, but willing and prompt to ridicule faith and seriousness whenever it can. The second process begins, when thoughtful persons see the evil, and try to prevent it by apparently defining their position but virtually making concessions. The third process is a necessary consequence. The definitions put forth in defence are taken up by those who are able to judge for themselves, examined carefully and critically, and their worth is exposed. At this stage, intellectuality gives aid to scepticism, the advance of which cannot be checked by one-sided conservative orthodox definitions: new thoughts and conceptions impart new life and produce enthusiasm: society is threatened: every social and religious institution seems to be languidly worked. The fourth process is the last and most important because opposition to orthodoxy is systematically organized. Preparations for war are made, when a great leader appears on the battle-field and heads the movement. The great leader may be a Shâkya Sinha or a Luther. At the

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1 "Kevalam *ri*sisampradâyo dharmah." See the introductory chapter of the Mahâbhâ*s*ya of Patanjali.

time of Patanjali, we find that society had passed through the first process. Sacrificial rites had been ridiculed. Wandering preachers openly and continually declared that intellectual and moral quietude was beneficial and preferable to *works*.[1] The process of social disintegration had begun. Patanjali gives definitions of a Brâhmaṇa[2]—a fact which betrays that a Brâhmaṇa was not a reality which could be seen : he was a definition: he was

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (VI. 1, 5.) page 57. Patanjali's comment on the Sûtra of Pâṇini (VI. 1, 154). "A Maskarî is a wandering preacher. What then ? A Maskarî is a wandering preacher because he says :—do not perform works. For you quietude is better." Kaiyaṭa comments upon this thus:—do not do this (and) do not do this—beginning thus, the teacher (who preaches)—your setting aside or not doing all sacrificial works which seek worldly objects (and this) by means of quietude is beneficial—is called a Maskarî.

2 Patanjali defines a Brâhmaṇa in three different places in his Mahâbhâsya. See the Benares edition, (II. 2, 2.), page 350. "All these words apply to assemblages of qualities or marks—Brâhmaṇa, Kṣâtriya, Vaishya and Shûdra. The constituents of a Brâhmaṇa are—tapas (austerities), knowledge or what is heard, and birth. He who is destitute of tapas and knowledge is a Brâhmaṇa by birth or a nominal Brâhmaṇa. Again, a fair (or) brown, indeed, (complexion) reddish hair, and pure conduct—even these qualities they include in the Brâhmaṇahood." *Vide* (IV. 1, 2.), page 27. "Oh, my dear, know this (to be) the definition of a superior Brâhmaṇa—He—who has three qualities—pure learning, birth and conduct." *Vide* (VI. 3, 3.), of the same, page 104. The question is "who are the leaders of society ?" The answer is: "those Brâhmaṇas who dwell in the Âryâvarta, those who live without any thing kept for the morrow, *i.e.*, those who can pride themselves on the possession of a vessel-ful of grain, not covetous, and practising good morals without any object—disinterested and pure." Such a high standard and such correct notions are recognized as the opposition to the pretensions of Brâhmaṇas necessitated.

an intellectual abstraction, the marks of which could be enumerated, but he was not a person that actually lived, moved, and had his being. Of the other two processes we find no trace in the writings of Patanjali. The orthodox definitions would not have been given if they had been attacked. There would have been discussions instead of definitions. Not even once the name of a great Bouddha teacher or a philosopher is mentioned.

The Conclusion stated.

Patanjali, therefore, came a considerable time before Shâkya Sinha and about two hundred years had elapsed between Patanjali and Pâṇini. Pâṇini flourished at least about 900 years before Christ.

Section IV.

SOCIETY OF THE ÂCHÂRYA-PERIOD.

The social customs and practices of a nation discover historical sequence. Circumstances, political and religious, necessitate them; and as circumstances change, they are changed. The history, for instance, of the origin of the power of a Brâhmaṇa, its growth, its full development, and its decline, are chronologically and historically of great importance.

General remarks.

Under any circumstances, an argument based on the social condition of a nation cannot serve the purpose of correctly fixing the chronology of an author; for fashions, tastes, and customs change from time to time: they die out and revive. But in ancient India the conservative tendencies were great; and social conditions discover a gradual development helped by causes originating in the political relationship of races. Even during the Vedic times, attempts were made to assign a status to non-Âryan races. The patient Shûdra and the strong and stolid Nisâda had emerged from the social degradation, the effect of the political supremacy of the Aryas. The social history of India till the time of Shâkya Sinha is a series of efforts made by the non-Âryan races, not to shake off the yoke of the Âryas for they imposed no yoke, but to rise to their level by adopting their manners, customs, and social institutions. The Âryas always thought it proper to exclude the non-Âryas from participating in their sacrifices—which were a sort of social and literary *picnics*, carefully to be distinguished from those sacrifices which were expiatory in their nature. Unfortunately the nature of Âryan sacrifices is not understood, and they are misinterpreted, when their spirit is believed to be analogous to that of the sacrifices of the Shemitics. In all cases, the Âryas attempted to prevent the non-Aryan races from adopting their social institutions, such as a sacrificial session, where discussions on philosophical and religious subjects took place, and where

measures for consolidating and extending the power of the Âryan colonists were concerted. This is natural in all countries where two races come in contact, the strong dominant race seeking to live, as it were, on the weak native race. The social history of ancient India consists of four distinct periods:—the first period—when patriarchal colonies of the Âryas existed; when there was no regularly developed and recognized hierarchy. The second period shows the growth of a hierarchy, as necessitated by the growth of social institutions such as sacrificial sessions. The third period shows the incorporation of the non-Âryas into the Âryan social system and economy by assigning to them a status which they complacently recognized as their own on account of the feeling of servility which the contact with the superior race had engendered—an inevitable result. Gradually a community consisting of Âryas and non-Âryas grew up, the different parts of which having inseparable social relations which dove-tailed into one another. The fourth period when the Âryas degenerated, and lost their vigour, their energy, and the spirit of exclusiveness. The non-Âryan races naturally sought, by the operation of social laws, to rise superior to the circumstances in which they had found themselves placed, and practically to realize the aspirations, and to enjoy the rights which the Âryas had laid exclusive claims to. Buddhism came.

The growth of the Community.

At the time of Pâṇini, the Âryan society in India was in the third period. The Brâhmaṇas formed

themselves into associations—the power and authority of which were tacitly recognized by the people—and regulated society or rather legislated for it. The community of Brâhmaṇas and its advancement were the predominant ideas of the period. Whenever the benefits of the community as a whole are spoken of, their consideration affected the interests of the Brâhmaṇa community only for the Parisad, composed exclusively of Brâhmaṇas, energized and promulgated its rules. The Vishvajanîna,[1] mentioned by Pâṇini, was more or less identical with the Pârisadya.[2] Kâtyâyana came when the third period had almost passed away, for society seems to have passed through a revolution, as he speaks of the Mahâjanika[3]-element—the great men of a town or village seeking to advance their common interests,—the Mahâjanika had grown up and begun perhaps to encroach on the Vishvajanîna, which ostensibly sought to look after the common interests of the whole community, but which really advanced the interests of the Âryas. The Mahâjanas or great men were not now exclusively Âryas. The Niṣâdas, being admitted within the pale of the community, had begun to

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[1] *Vide* the Pâṇinîyam (V. 1, 9.)—the term Vishvajanîna meaning—for the good of all—existed at the time of Pâṇini. Kâtyâyana added Sârvajanîna or Sârvajanika. *Vide* the Benares edition of the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, (V. 1, 1.), page 4.

[2] *Vide* the Pâṇinîyam (IV. 4, 101.)

[3] *Vide* the Benares edition of the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, (V. 1, 1.), page 4, where Kâtyâyana's rules for forming Sârvajanika and Mahâjanika are given.

flourish.[1] The fourth period was almost completed at the time when Patanjali wrote his great commentary. Society had undergone great changes and had begun to stagnate. The distinction between recognized and non-recognized Shûdras[2] established at the time of Pâṇini could not be understood at the time of Patanjali. The Brâhmaṇa had begun to cultivate pursuits in which he was not legitimately concerned. Some families of Brâhmaṇas possessed many bullocks.[3] A Brâhmaṇa hewed timber.[4] He sometimes fought.[5] The Shûdra consulted a palmist as well as a Brâhmaṇa did.[6] The five artisans who now form an essential part of the village-system, were inseparably associated with a Brâhmaṇa-village.[7] Though Pâṇini refers to pastors and

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1 *Vide* (I. 1, 12.) of the Kâtyâyana-Shrouta-Sûtra. *Vide* also the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ of Jaimini (VI. 8, 20.), Calcutta edition of the Bibliotheca Indica. It is the statement of the opponent—the final statement of Jaimini in the discussion confirms our view.

2 *Vide* the comments of Patanjali on (II. 4, 10.) of the Pâṇinîya grammar; Patanjali discusses the question and distinguishes the Avasita from Niravasita Shûdras.

3 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, (VII. 1, 2.), pages 70 and 75.

4 *Vide* the (III. 4, 1.), page 107, Benares edition of the Mahâbhâsya.

5 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, (III. 4, 1.), page 107. The words are :—"Kâsthabhid-abrâhmaṇah Balabhid-abrâhmaṇah." Those Brâhmaṇas who fought and hewed timber were condemned as a-Brâhmaṇa or not Brâhmaṇas.

6 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, (III. 2, 1.), page 66, Benares edition.

7 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 1, 7.), page 120. *Vide* the History of India by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, fourth edition, page 65. The carpenter, leather-dresser, barber, washerman, and weaver—these were Shûdras. These yet form some village-officers who are recognized. The history of village-communities in India is thus elucidated.

agriculturists, yet his utterances are too scanty to warrant a general conclusion. His references, however, to wild tribes are abundant.[1] Society at the time of Pâṇini was consolidated only so far as the Âryas in their colonies were powerful, but their scattered colonies were surrounded by the settlements of aboriginal tribes.[2] At the time of Patanjali, most of the Dâsas, Dasyus, and other tribes which annoyed the Âryas in their first efforts at colonization had quietly learnt peaceful pursuits. They followed pastoral life. Throughout the Mahâbhâsya references to pastoral habits and pursuits abound. Agriculture was earnestly pursued. Sheep and goats constituted wealth. The cow-folds were conspicuous. The cow-herds amused themselves with talk, while a large number of cows grazed about them. A young ox full of vigour and life digs with his four feet or strikes his horns against a hillock. A cow-herd counts his cows—while the cuckoo warbles over-head—thinking of a wild thicket.[3] People quench their thirst in small channels which water the rice-fields. There is

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1 *Vide* for instance the Pâṇinîyam (IV. 2, 143.) and (IV. 3, 91.). In the same connection *Vide* the same (V. 3, 114 and 117.).

2 The Sûtras (IV. 2, 143.) and (IV. 3, 91.) of Pâṇini also support this statement.

3 The picture of rural life here presented is based on passages scattered throughout the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali. In this connection the following references may be interesting. *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 2, 1.), page 199, cows were used as the means of barter. *Vide* the same (I. 3, 2.), page 254. *Vide* of the same (I. 3, 2.), page 255, where the following occurs :—"Smarati vanagulmasya kokilas."

barley on the thrashing-floor. The boundaries of fields were fixed. A field extended to the banks of a river. The greater portion of the country was occupied by husbandmen and cowherds.[1]

Four castes.

At the time of the *Ri*sis, the Shûdra had no recognized status. He belonged to the degraded tribe which did not oppose the Âryas, but submissively rendered them such services as he could. At the time of the Brahmavâdins, he could not touch the milk required for a sacrifice.[2] Thus his social status was much improved. He was admitted into an Âryan family. At the time of the Âchâryas, he received salutations.[3] At the time of Patanjali his status was raised. The great commentator seldom uses the word—Shûdra, but calls him V*r*isala or husbandman.[4] This change of phraseo-

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1 These remarks are based on the following passages of the Mahâbhâ*s*ya. *Vide* the Mahâbhâ*s*ya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 1, 5.), page 91, where the rice-fields and the channels are spoken of. *Vide* of the same (II. 1, 2.), page 326. The words are "Khale yavam."

Vide of the same (VII. 2, 2.), page 101, where the fields are spoken of.

The residence of the Âryas is characterized as either a village, a town, *settlement of cowherds*, or of traders—*Vide* Mahâbhâ*s*ya, Benares edition, (II. 4, 1.), page 397.

2 *Vide* the Taittirîya-Brâhma*n*a (III. 2, 3, 9.).

3 *Vide* the Pâninîyam (VIII. 2, 83.) and the Shatapatha-Brâhma*n*a. —(I. 1, 4, 12.) page 9. *Âdhâva* is the way of addressing a Shûdra.

4 Vrisala literally means one who obtains or keeps bullocks. At the time of Manu, a Vri*s*ala was degraded again.

logy is significant. Again, at the time of Pâṇini, the four castes being established, the Brâhmaṇa, the Ksatriya, and the Vaishya formed the upper classes; yet the Shûdras were divided into two classes—the known and the unknown Shûdras.[1] At the same time an Arya, to be distinguished from an Ârya, was known as a lord,[2] probably because he possessed wealth. Some Shûdras received salutations from Brâhmaṇas, but the special form to mark his social status was scrupulously laid down and observed, as Pâṇini gives the general rule as to the particular way of pronouncing the form of salutation in the case of a Shûdra.[3] At the time of Patanjali, his status seems to have been changed, for the notions of purity and impurity were introduced into all discussions for fixing his status. The vessel used by a degraded Shûdra could never be used by an Ârya.[4] The lower Shûdra was considered to be *unknown* at the time of Pâṇini, while he was *known* to be *degraded* at the time of Patanjali. The four castes existed at the time of Patanjali, but the Brâhmaṇa had degenerated: the Shûdra had risen; for a seat, though low, was offered to the last.[5] The Vaishya followed worldly pursuits, plied different trades, and accumulated

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1 *Vide* the Pâṇinîyam (II. 4, 10.).

2 *Vide* the Pâṇinîyam (III. 1, 103.).

3 *Vide* the same (VIII. 2, 83.).

4 *Vide* the comments of Patanjali on (II. 4, 10.) of the Sûtras of Pâṇini. He discusses the relative purity of castes in this place.

5 *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (II. 2, 2.), page 353.

wealth.[1] The Ksatriya boldly encroached on the dignity of the Brâhmana for he asserted that he deserved to be treated[2] like a Brâhmana. The Ksatriyas had their military schools.[3] They are described as having ear-rings, diadems, round fleshy arms adorned with bracelets and broad chests.[4] The Brâhmanas were known as real or nobly born.[5]

Supremacy of Brâhmanas.

Certainly even the Vedas assign milk-sacrifices to the Brâhmana.[6] The Ksatriyas and Vaishyas ranked next to him. That philosophy which opens heaven to all classes if they master certain Pantheistic doctrines, was not yet systematically and generally cultivated.[7] On the permission to perform certain sacrifices, depended the social and political status of an individual. Certain sacrifices, which conferred the status and which were sanctified by Vedic sanctions, were confined to particular classes. The permission to perform sacrifices, so often reiterated in the Brâhmana-literature, is

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 3, 1.), page 238, where some Devadatta is spoken of as possessing cows and gold, and some Vaidhaveya as prosperous.

2 *Vide* the above (I. 1, 8.), page 134.

3 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, (I. 3, 2.), page 248, Benares edition. The words are :—"Vidyâsu Shiksate : Dhanusi Shiksate."

4 *Vide* the above, (1. 3, 1.), page 235.

5 *Vide* the above, (V. 1, 2.), page 22.

6 Payovratâ Brâhmanas—Yavâgû vratâ Râjanyas—these words are repeated throughout the Mantras.

7 This is the spirit of the Upanisad-literature.

historically very important. In modern times, the rights of the natives in relation to those of the ruling classes of a conquered country are often restricted. The natives are carefully excluded from the benefits which are specially reserved for the conquerors. In like manner, the Brâhmaṇas attached importance to their sacrifices and carefully prevented the warriors and merchants from performing such as they could perform. Possessed of the exclusive right of superintending the sacrifices of all classes, they maintained their social importance and status. The feeling of exclusiveness grew upon them during the period of the Brahmavâdins. It acquired the force and the sanction of tradition during the Âchârya-period. The complicated sacrificial system known as the Shrouta, being systematically arranged and developed, discovered what blessings of this life or of the life to come it could confer. A sacrifice properly performed could secure the acquisition of universal sovereignty as well as the possession of a bullock or a cow. The Brâhmaṇas alone possessed the key of all these blessings. During the Âchârya-period, they became almost the gods of this world. Again, to sum up their history, the Brâhmaṇas, during the *Ṛiṣi*-period, prayed as devoutly as they could for worldly possessions. The Brahmavâdins believed that they had obtained the blessings, for the insolence and self-sufficiency, which glory and importance inherited create, were now rampant. Pâṇini refers to all sacrifices from the establishment of a domestic fire[1] to the archi-

[1] *Vide* the Pâṇinîyam (II. 2, 37.)

tectural sacrifices called *chayanas*.[1] The distinction between *Yajna* and *Kratu*, explained by Kâtyâyana in his Shrouta-Sûtra, was established at the time of Pâṇini.[2] And at the time of Kâtyâyana the original sacrificial impulse was not exhausted. The process of systematizing was carried on. At the time of Patanjali, the power of sacrifices had been completely established, and the feeling of insolence, which exclusive privileges and "prior rights" engender, predominated. "The sacrificial priests walked about with red turbans on."[3] "Gifts like ten pomegranates or six cakes were nothing."[4] "A cow or a blanket was ordinarily given."[5] The stories of the gift of a thousand cows were freely told and believed.[6] Brâhmaṇa families formed alliances with one other and maintained their supremacy.[7] "The husbandman or the Shûdra was to be subdued"[8]—an inevitable result of exclusiveness. "This multitude of Brâhmaṇas enjoys itself."[9] "Give unto the Brâhmaṇas" and "feed the Brâhmaṇas" were social watch-words.[10] Beggars waited

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1 *Vide* the Pâṇiniyam (III. 1, 132.).

2 *Vide* the Kâtyâyana-Shrouta-Sûtra (I. 2, 5, 6 and 7.) where *Juhoti* and *Yajati* are distinguished. *Vide* the Pâṇiniyam (IV. 3, 68.) which mentions Kratus and Yajnas.

3 *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali (I. 1, 6.), page 94, Benares edition.

4 *Vide* the above (I. 1, 3.), page 45.

5 *Vide* the above (I. 1, 3.), page 50.

6 *Vide* the above (I. 4, 2.), page 270.

7 *Vide* the above (I. 1, 2.), page 36 and (I. 2, 2.), page 204.

8 *Vide* the above (I. 1, 7.), page 123.

9 *Vide* the above (I. 2, 2.), page 204.

10 *Vide* the above (I. 2, 3.), page 213.

at the door of a Brâhmaṇa whose conduct the customs of the educated justified.[1] "On the birth of a child, ten thousand cows were given to a Brâhmaṇa."[2] The legends like this are a powerful stimulant. The consequence of their action was that families of Brâhmaṇas possessed cattle and corn constituting immense wealth;[3] they married more than one wife.[4] Pretensions of sanctity based on religious sanctions came to be advanced. Brâhmaṇas ostentatiously abstained from attending a dinner given on account of the anniversary of the dead.[5] There was doubtless that haughtiness, that exclusiveness, that conscious self-importance, that spirit of contempt for what are considered lower classes, which characterize the imbecile luxurious descendents of great men whose extraordinary prowess, indefatigable labours, and powerful diplomacy secure the possession of a great country. The feelings of insolence and exclusiveness inevitably produce a re-action.

Asceticism.

The re-action which the insolence of ruling classes produces invariably assumes at first the form of asceticism. Unable to control the external world and his surroundings, man attempts to control him-

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 3, 2.), page 250.

2 *Vide* the above (I. 4, 2.), page 270.

3 *Vide* the above (VII. 2, 1.), page 71.

4 *Vide* of the same (II. 2, 2.), page 364, also (VII. 1, 1.), page 57.

5 *Vide* of the same (I. 1, 6.), page 109.

self. Unable to check the ruling classes, he learns to check himself. Dispossessed of wealth, suppressed by artificial rules, insulted in places of public resort and at court, the conquered races, dissatisfied with themselves, became ascetics. Such a spirit of asceticism characterized the times of Patanjali. The history of Indian asceticism may be epitomized with advantage in this place. The idea of *tapas* is older than the *Risi* himself.[1] The *tapas* at first meant deep spirituality consisting in overcoming the temptations of Satan known as personal *Sin* to the ancient Âryas,—every moment of one's life,—and in enjoying such happiness as purity of the soul produces. *Tapas* cannot be exhaustively defined. The Brahmavâdinas confounded *Tapas* with a sacrifice.[2] The Âchâryas attempted to rationalize it away [3] Kâtyâyana observes that knowledge is *tapas*.[4] Asceticism was thoroughly developed at the time of Patanjali. At the time of Pâṇini the ascetics existed.[5] But they were not respected, for they might have set up claims against the sacrificing orthodoxy, for according to Pâṇini, the words *Koupîna* and Kâsâya strangely enough mean sin and bad heart.[6]

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1 See the last lines of our poem entitled the *Risi*.

2 All the Châturhotra *Sad*hotra, and Dashahotra mantras so often given in the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ bear out this statement.

3 *Vide* the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ, Bibliotheca Indica or Weber's edition.

4 His words are "Svâdhyâyas tapah".

5 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (VI. 1, 154.).

6 *Vide* the above (V. 2, 20.). Koupîna is derived from Kûpa—a hollow, and signified belonging to a Kûpa, its first transferred sense is a cloth covering the lower body. The word Kâsâya means both the clothes of an ascetic and a bad heart. Because ascetics covered themselves in this way, it came to convey these senses.

At the time of Patanjali ascetics abounded who went about bare-headed and who wore clotted hair. They ostentatiously perambulated thoroughfares, protesting against the performance of sacrifices.[1] They necessarily incurred the enmity of Brâhmaṇas. Such protests against sacrificial blood-shed long preceded the actual advent of Shâkya Sinha. In this connection, a short history of *ahinsâ* to which special importance is attached in the Yoga-Shâstra may not be out of place. Pâṇini uses the word indefinitely.[2] Kâtyâyana defines it in his way for he is fond of making nice distinctions. Patanjali in his characteristic way sums up the history of the word.[4]

Society and its progress.

In one sense, society had greatly advanced in civilization about the time of Patanjali. Traces of the softness, the etiquette, and luxuries—which characterize that state of civilization in which the fruits of the achievements of the great men that passed away, are enjoyed,—are discernible. Large palaces were built, elephants and their drivers added splendour to royalty when it paraded its retainers in ostentatious processions and display of pageants.

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (VI. 1, 5.), page 57. The original words are. "Mâ kṛita karmâṇi shântir vas shreyasityâhâto maskari parivrâjakah." This passage is already translated.

2 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (III. 4, 37.).

3 *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (III. 4, 1.), page 105, where a discussion as to hinsâ and ahinsâ are given.

4 *Vide* the above.

The streets of towns were watered[1] by professional water-bearers. There were regular places where drinking water was offered to passengers.[2] But pity! The advance of civilization is the abuse of liberty. Women drank;[3] yet they were not divorced; they were not ex-communicated; they were not persecuted. They were simply told that they would be punished in the world beyond the grave, when the gods would not take them to the heavenly abodes of their lords.[4] Dramas were performed. The artistic exhibition of heroes and heroines encouraged the composition of Purâṇas on the one side, and the art of statuary on the other.[5] Though the statues were not worshipped, yet society showed a tendency to idolatry. Images were carried from door to door, exhibited and admired.[6] Patanjali epigrammatically remarks that images were sold and that by a class of men who had showed a marked tendency to idolatry inasmuch as, being avaricious, they exposed images for sale. The passage of Patanjali is interesting, for it shows that the Âryas condemned the sale of images,[7] though they sanctioned their exhibition. The

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 4, 4.), page 295.

2 *Vide* the above (II. 1, 1.) page 307.

3 *Vide* the above (III. 2, 1.) page 65. "Gods do not take that Brâhmaṇa-woman, who drinks, to the abode of her husband (patiloka)."

4 *Vide* the translation in the foot-note above.

5 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (V. 3, 96).

6 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (V. 3, 2.) page 73.

7 According to Pâṇini (V. 3, 95.) the termination *Kan* in the sense of reproach is to be added on. A statue takes it or an image takes

Âryas, therefore, did not possess any household gods as such at the time of Patanjali. At the time of Pâṇini, Vedic gods were known and Vedic reminiscences were stored up in memory.[1] At the time of Patanjali, new gods seem to have competed for popular attention. Of course, Patanjali mentions first Brahmâ and Prajâpati, but along with them Shiva, Vaishravaṇa, Skanda, and Vishâkha come.[2] At the time of Pâṇini meat was generally eaten. A cow was killed in honour of a guest. The word cow-killer meant a great guest.[3] At the time of Kâtyâyana nice distinctions as to the flesh of what animals could be eaten were made.[4] Patanjali's favorite illustrations of exegetical principles are founded on the practice of

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it according to (V. 3, 96.). When a picture of a man is spoken of, the termination is dropped according to (V. 3, 98). The Sûtra (V. 3, 99.) is important. It lays down two marks—'for livelihood, and not being fit for sale.' Now, the house-hold gods possess the second mark and not the first. The gods exhibited in the temple or from door to door possess both the marks. Hence our statement that Patanjali's comments appear to be tampered with.

1 *Vide* the Sûtras of Pâṇini (VI. 3, 26-31.). All these Sûtras are interesting inasmuch as they show that gods were attended to. The gods are all sacrificial.

2 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (VI. 3, 1.), page (89), the gods mentioned are Shiva and others—a fact to be specially noticed.

3 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (III. 4, 73.).

4 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (III. 4, 1.), page 105. "(There is) sense from *hinsârtha* (the seuse of killing) being declared. The declaration of the termination *n*amula in connection with *hanti* (the verbal root *han* to kill) has indeed sense. What is the sense? The declaration of the sense of not killing (ahinsârtha). The verbal root *han* to kill having the sense of not killing takes likewise the termination *n*amula * * * How again

eating flesh. A slice of flesh is mentioned along with pomegranates. A fish and its scales demonstrate the employment of exegetics so far as the acceptance or rejection of a portion of a text is concerned. A preparation of rice and flesh, so well-known among the Mahomedans of India by the name of Pulâva, seems to have been much appreciated. Vegetable food was distinguished from animal food, and dry boiled rice from flesh-rice. The flesh of dogs is mentioned.[1] Though flesh as well as oil was never to be sold by the Âryas, yet cows were freely sold.[2] The pulse[3] (phaseolus radiatus) was not eaten, and was perhaps considered to be impure as at present. But the idea of its substitution for flesh in connection with sacrifices and oblations to manes, did not exist, for there was no necessity. Flesh was eaten, and the pulse was abstained from, while now the one is abstained from and the other is eaten. When the facts, that sacrifices were often performed, and

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from the sense of hinsâ (killing) by this the declaration (of this sense) of *hanti* to be had even by one who wishes (so)?" The last words are important. Both of these senses are declared, adds Patanjali, by a Vârtika, and Pâṇini gives grounds for an inference.

[1] The following passages bear out the statement of the text. *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 1, 1,) page 10—"those animals having five, five nails, are to be eaten." "A ball of flesh : ten pomegranates" (I. 2, 2.), page 200. Some one, seeking flesh, carries a number of fish with their bones and scales (shakala) (all) being connected, see (I. 2, 1.), page 196. The constituents of dry rice are also different : (those) of flesh-rice are also different, see (I. 3, 1.), page 233. The Shouvam (canine) mânsam (flesh), see (VII. 2, 2.), page 111.

[2] *Vide* the same (I. 1, 12.), page 34 ; and (I. 2, 1.), page 199.

[3] The Mâsâs are not to be eaten—this being said, even the mixed mâsâs are not eaten (I. 1, 7.), page 128.

that they necessitated the slaughter of animals of all kinds, are considered along with the fact that at least at the time of Patanjali, delicate distinctions were made about killing animals[1] and the importance of abstaining from it, the conclusion suggests itself that the popular conscience had begun to be awakened to the sense of the wickedness of killing animals. The performance of long sacrifices had overshot itself. The first indistinct traces of a re-action against sacrifices were discernible.[2] But the re-action had not assumed a definite form: it was as yet confined to the schools and colleges: and it had not as yet resulted in any organized effort to suppress the slaughter of animals, either for daily food or for a sacrifice.

Pater-Familias.

Each family constituted a patriarchal system of government in itself. It formed a *gotra*, a word

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (III. 4, 1.) page 106. Again, the words of Kâtyâyana "Bhakserahinsârthasya—meaning the verb Bhaksi to eat, when it signifies ahimsâ. This is a significant statement in this connection. *Vide* (I. 4, 3.), page 291 of the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition. "Why of ahimsârtha? Bhaksayanti yavân balivardâh—*i.e.*, bullocks eat barley." The question of the verb Baksa is thus again and again discussed.

2 The Vârtika—the Vrata, a small religious performance first referred to in the Upanisads recognized as authoritative throughout India—the Vrata ending in feeding Brâhmanas, in the case of accomplishing such a vrata * *,—the original words being "Vratâdbhojana-tannivrityos." The transition from Yajna to Vrata is historically very important. To this Vrata-system Patanjali refers again:—In this family, the vratas are finished. *Vide* (I. 4, 4.) page 305.

denoting a particular stage in pastoral life. The *Ri*sis really lived a pastoral life. The Brahmavâdins inherited it, and in their sacrifices represented it, as the mere ceremonies of sending cows off to graze, and their milking particularly signify. A Gotra or a patriarchal family included all the members of an united family from the heir-apparent to a great-grandson. The patriarch was called the progenitor, and the heir-apparent, a youth by way of pre-eminence.[1] When, the patriarch being dead, the brothers had to manage and lead the family, the eldest brother took the place of his father. The patriarch's son and the younger brothers, designated *youths*, were completely under his authority.[2] All the members of a family again obeyed any one who happened to be older than themselves, and who survived the patriarch or his lineal descendants, that is, the pater-familias passed to a collateral relation. Lingual usages originated in the recognition of the patriarchal system. An old man was respected, when the title of *patriarch* was given to him, and contempt was shown, when one was called a youth.[3] Pâ*n*ini explains the details of the system, for it existed in his time in its entirety. At the time of Kâtyâyana, society

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1 The words used by Kaiya*t*a for defining a Gotra are :—"*Risi*-prajanascha loke gotramityuchyate." *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali (IV. 1, 3.), page 39.

2 *Vide* the Sûtras of Pâ*n*ini (IV. 1, 162-167.). It is true that the definition of a Gotra as given by Pâ*n*ini is his own. But the relations, as between an uncle and a nephew, and elder and younger brothers, were established and recognized, and Pâ*n*ini's Sûtras, therefore, are important as throwing light on the social system.

3 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pa*n*ini (IV. 1, 167.).

seems to have undergone a change. The binding power of the patriarchal system is weakened as soon as the family-circle is enlarged. Young men transgress stringent rules, when they find that they can do so with impunity. Kâtyâyana specially notices patriarchal deterioration in a Vârtika.[1] The patriarchal system was, of course, the heritage of the Brâhmanas, who represented the polished society which led the aboriginal tribes at the time of Pânini. The system was adopted by all classes at the time of Kâtyâyana. A great change passed over society between the times of Kâtyâyana and Patanjali. The distinction of *Gotras* in the meantime died out. The patriarchal system was relaxed. Patanjali considers it, in one way, to be ancient. A new system superseded it. The distinction, between a *Gotra* or pater-familias as religiously inherited and a popular Gotra, was established at the time of Patanjali.[2] Buddhism, by attempting to introduce inter-marriages between different classes of society, succeeded in abolishing the distinction

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[1] *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali (II. 4, 1.), page 405. His words are :—"Abrâhmana-gotra-mâtrâd-yuva-pratyayasyopasankhyânam" signifying that the termination called *yuva* is to be declared (in the case) of all Gotras which are not those of Brâhmanas. The system of Gotras was thoroughly developed among the Brâhmanas as is seen from the utterances of Âshvalâyana in his Shrouta-Sûtra.

[2] *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (IV. 1, 2.), page 35. The original words are : "Kulâkhyâ loke Gotrâbhimatâh Gotrâvayavâ ityuchyante." Its sense is :—Among the people the names of families, recognized as Gotras, are called *Gotrâvayavâh* This utterance is significant ; for the Gotra-system had out-grown itself, and such names as Devadatta and Yajnadatta had come into existence.

itself. Now the distinction is known to the Brâhmaṇas only, and is observed so far as the marriage-law is concerned. But the Gotra does not exist as the pater-familias—the essential and exclusive principle of the system on which society was built.

Ecclesia.

There were noble as distinguished from ignoble families. An assemblage of the former formed an ecclesia called a Charaṇa for which a council called a *Parisad* legislated for regulating the relations, ecclesiastical as well as social, between different families, for each family had a perfect system of government for itself.[1] At the time of the *Ṛ*isis the patriarchal system predominated. Yet the Brâhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, and the Vaishyas formed the essential parts of the Âryan Society as a whole, as they attended to the practical concerns of social life. The Gotamas and Kaṇvas, however, formed the real essence of the Âryan Society. The patriarch represented his kith and kin on every occasion of active life. When the number of families had grown, and when the relation between different families became complicated, the system of ecclesia or Charaṇa necessarily sprang up and grew. A Charaṇa or ecclesia had many members belonging to different families. Its constitution was based on a sort of literary or scholastic consanguinity.[2] The Âchâryas actually recognized double consanguinity ;

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1 The system explained as the pater-familias or Gotra-system.

2 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (IV. 3, 77.).

a Gotra showed the family in which one was born. His other name showed the ecclesia to which he belonged. As every person was bound to go to an Âchârya for instruction, he was considered his descendant.[1] A family consisting of a few individuals had little or no power compared to that of an ecclesia which could muster a large number of followers. But a few persons, learned and influential, representing the different ecclesias, necessarily led society. They constituted the *Parisad.* At the time of Pâṇini the ecclesia as well as the *Parisad* existed, and both were powerful.[2] During the scholastic period of which Kâtyâyana is the representative, the social arrangement, based on the system of ecclesia led by a Parisad, had almost become extinct. When Patanjali wrote, it was known only in theory. Yet powerful schools, such as we have already described, existed, but they only adopted the phraseology of the system which had become obsolete, as its spirit was extinct. The arrangement of Gotras as well as the system of ecclesia had disappeared or they were known only in theory. At the time of Shâkya Siṁha, it was systematically ignored. The Shâkyas revolted against a system which had ceased to have life and power.

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[1] Âchârya-karaṇa was the name by which Upanayana or sending a boy to an Âchârya for instruction was known. *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (I. 3. 36.)

[2] *Vide* for instance the Sûtras of Pâṇini (IV. 2, 46.) and (VI. 3, 86.). The Sutra of Pâṇini (IV. 4, 44.) is important in this connection. The Pârisadyas were those who attended a Parisad. The Sûtras (43 and 44 of IV. 4.) require to be read together to see the force of Pârisadyas.

Laxity of Morals.

A great laxity of morals necessitated Buddhistic stern and high morality. The Vedic traditions had almost lost their hold on the minds of the people. A new order of things loomed in the horizon. Sacrificial practices were openly ridiculed. Idolatry was also developed. The opponents, who now sought to lead the non-Âryan races, which showed strong tendencies towards idolatry, and among which a kind of idolatry prevailed, encouraged religious processions, and openly attacked sacrificial rites. In truth, the sacrificial rites of the Âryas had been ridiculed by the non-Âryas from the earliest times. "If a little liquor could secure Heaven, why not drink hogsheads to secure better Heaven?" Such was the question asked by men whose songs Patanjali characterizes as besotted.[1] While, on the contrary, Patanjali supports sacrificial rites with all his energy, and speaks of the idols as worthless, using such words as—"an idol of a flat nose, and an idol of a long nose."[2] The care, with which women were respected, was relaxed. Patanjali speaks of concubines and humorously alludes to lewd women in the course of

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[1] *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 1, 1.), page 7. When a large number (literally a circle) of the vessels of the colour of Udumbara (if) drunk does not take (one) to Heaven, then what? Can that which is used in a sacrifice take him to Heaven? The literature which the above quotation represents had grown up at the time of Patanjali.

[2] *Vide* of the same (IV. 1, 2.), page 28. The remarks of Patanjali on the Sûtra of Pânini (IV. 1, 54.), are important in this connection.

his lectures.[1] The spirit of academic dignity and purity had departed. The Âchâryas had laid down that a pupil was not to speak of a woman, much less to see her face, and that he was to shun every temptation.[2] Patanjali's allusion to lewd practices, therefore, discovers a moral degeneracy. From the earliest times, the non-Âryas opposed and attacked the sacrificial rites of the Âryas, which distinguished them. The non-Âryas worshipped improper gods—a fact which distinguishes them.[3] Opposition based on difference of worship and rites is the key to the proper appreciation of the struggle between the races. The offspring of illicit intercourse between sexes had multiplied. The sons of widows had acquired social position and influence.[4] Old maidens are mentioned whose minds revolted against the scholastic laxity of morals.[5] There were Abelards in India who, though highly educated and respected by the common people for their learning, freely indulged their appetites and thus brought contempt on themselves. Usury prevailed.[6] The creditors necessarily belonged to the upper classes whose influence was great. The debtors belonged

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1 *Vide* The Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (III. 1, 6.), page 59. There is punning on the word Bhâryâs which means also Ksatriyas.

2 *Vide* Âshvalâyana's Grihya-Sûtra.

3 *Vide* the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ. (III. 1, 6, 1.).

4 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali. Benares edition, (I. 3, 1.), page 238. The original words are "Âdhyo Vaidhaveyas"

5 *Vide* the above (VIII. 2, 1.), page 25. The original words are "Vriddhâ Kumârî." The story told about her asking a boon, is interesting.

6 *Vide* of the same (IV. 3, 3.), page 90.

to the poorer lower classes. Usury, when sanctioned and enforced, is always revolutionary. The opponents took advantage of this state of things and instilled into the minds of the people contempt towards their leaders. The foundation of faith in the order established was sapped. The irreligious were known.[1] They openly attacked the social order which now depended for its support on mere conceits such as Prajâpati, who consists of seventeen syllables[2] and who is himself metrical, constituted a sacrifice. Mere forms, destructive of the spirit of religion, had superseded the reality of sentiment which stirs up society and renews its life. This degeneracy pointed to a social change which had not as yet come.

Conclusion.

We have thus stated the social argument based on the condition of the people. The facts of the supremacy of the Brâhmaṇas, the decay of regenerating sentiments, and the predominance of mere forms lead to the conclusion that Buddhism had

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (IV. 3, 3.), page 90.

2 *Vide* of the same (IV. 3, 3.), page 91. The word Oshrâvaya pronounced by an Adhvaryu at every oblation consists of..... 4 syllables.
Astu Shrousat pronounced by the Âgnîdhra..... 4 syllables.
Ye yajâmahe pronounced by the Hota..... 5 syllables.
Yaja—again by an Adhvaryu..... 2 syllables.
Vasat—again by the Hotâ..... 2 syllables.

17 Syllables

All these significant and mysterious forms constitute the Vedic Prajâpati, to whom much importance is attached.

come; but that Shâkya Sinha had not organized opposition to the Brâhmanas. The facts, as connecting and supporting different items of circumstantial evidence we have produced, are important. Patanjali, therefore, flourished before Shâkya Sinha, about 700 years before Christ.

Section V.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE ÂCHÂRYA-PERIOD.

The knowledge of geography is a special index of the activities of a nation. The Greeks were better geographers as their conquests extended. The Mahomedans knew more of geography after their invasion of different countries of Asia and Europe. Geographical statements occur in the literature of every nation—literature comprising different periods. Geographical notices, therefore, can be a good basis for fixing the chronology of the different periods in the history of a nation, because the notices indicate historical sequence.

The geographical antecedents of the Âchârya-period.

Geographical notices, though sometimes scanty, occur throughout the Sanhitâs, Brâhmanas, and Upanisads, point to the progressive advance of the Âryas in India, and afford considerable aid in fixing the chronology of important periods in the ancient history of India. A part of Sanhitâ-literature alone belongs to the first period, when the Aryas struggled on the North-western borders of India, fighting their way down into the valley of

the Indus,[1] and when they had not marched in a body able to occupy the valley of the Ganges. Yet they aspired after the occupation of the fertile country between the Ganges and the Jamna, and some explorers, like Livingstone in Africa, had reached important places even on the lower banks of the Ganges. In the second period—that of their occupation—they began to look into Southern India which they considered as unbounded.[2] Regular kingdoms were organized in Madra.[3] The Kurus, who figure most in the history of this period, pressed onwards, and succeeded in making an impression of their power on the barbarous aborigines: such tribes as Pu*n*dras, Shabaras, Mûtibas, and the rest gave way.[4] A legend in the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a in this connection is suggestive. Vishvâmitra patronized, and delivered from misery, a son of a poor adventurous Ârya who had isolated himself from the body of the Âryan invaders, had settled in a wilderness, and had lived quietly with

1 *Vide* the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (III. 53, 9.). Vishvâmitra was the great Ârya who crossed the Indus—crossing the Indus in those days was more arduous than crossing the Rhine by the Germans, or the Danube by the Russians, in modern times—because the Âryan invaders of India were also explorers.

2 *Vide* the Taittirîya-Brâhma*n*a (III. 12, 9, 1.) which speaks of the Unbounded South as being given to the Yajur-Veda.

3 *Vide* the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a (VIII. 14.).

4 *Vide* of the same (VII. 18.): the story of Vishvâmitra is simply a tradition of the times of the Aitareya-Brâhma*n*a. When a tradition justifies a social practice, a custom, or a ceremony, it is of great importance. The words "Vaishvâmitrâ dasyûnâm bhûyi*shth*âh" deserve attention. The legend is geographically important as it shows the relation between Âryan and non-Âryan occupation of the different parts of the country and the bearing of the two races on each other.

his family. He sold to a prince his son who was to be sacrificed. The poor Brâhmaṇa-boy was adopted by Vishvâmitra who called him Devarâta—Vishvâmitra, one of the first great patriarchs, who considered all tribes, Âryan and non-Âryan, as his children.[1] His elder sons rebelled against him on account of his adoption of Devarâta, and were excluded by Vishvâmitra from a share in his property, and were cursed with ignorance. The inferior tribes like the Puṇḍras were his elder children, because they had long lived in the land. Their ignorance is explained by a curse. Their disobedience to Vishvâmitra discovers their non-Âryan origin as they did not perform the rites of the Âryas. The legend is important as it puts forth a view of the origin of the aboriginal tribes, and accounts for their ignorance and exclusion from the privileges of the Ârays who now occupied the land. There are more notices in the eighth Chapter of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa, which probably was subsequently added as the story is extended to the times of Janmejaya, son of Pariksiti. In the third period of the history of the Âryan occupation of India, large and flourishing kingdoms were established; the paramount power of the Âryas was recognized: their institutions commanded respect: the aborigines, over-powered and suppressed, had learnt to submit. The third period is, therefore, important as the Âryas showed not only literary and philosophical but political activity. Even before Râma led an expedition into Southern

1 *Vide* (VII. 18.) of the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.

India, many energetic Âryas had penetrated to the banks of rivers in the South, erected huts for themselves, and contemplated nature and worshipped their gods; for Vâlmîki mentions ascetics who received Râma and welcomed him.[1]

The Times of Pâṇini.

The Northern, Western, and Eastern Âryas and their grammar-schools, with their characteristic lingual usages are mentioned,[2] while the South is

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1 Âshramas or hermitages are described in the Âraṇya-Kâṇḍa. The hermits in Southern India received Râma and helped him by their advice and Âryan sympathies.

Articles of merchandise brought from Tarshish or Ophir in Solomon's ships, about 1000 B. C., include the following :—

1. *Tûki*, the ordinary name for a peacock on the Malabar coast ; in Tamil countries, *Mayil* ; and Sanskrit *Mayûra*. It deserves to be compared with Shikhi.

2. *Kôf*, as mentioned in Kings and Chronicles, is the Sanskrit *kapi* and the Greek κῆπος, and English *ape*.

3. *Shen Habbim*, the tooth of the habb, is ivory ; *Habb* being in Sanskrit *ibha*, Greek ἐλέφας.

4. *Algum* is Sanskrit *Valguka*, and Tamil-Malayâlam, *aragu* or *alagu*, Hebrew *Ahaloth* or *Ahalim* is Tamil-Malayâlam *aghil*, Sanskrit *agaru*.

5. Greek ὄρυζα, is Tamil *arishi*, Sanskrit *Vrîhi*.

6. *Kurundhu*, Tamil-Malayâlam *karuppu* or *Kârppu* is *kirfah* of the Arabs ; Tamil-Malayâlam *Karuva*, which means pungent, is Sanskrit Kaṭu, these being names for cinnamon.

7. *Karpûra* is Tamil-Malayâlam *Karuppu*—the name for camphor, and Ctesias mentions it in the form of κάρπιον,

These and some other words, found among the Tamilians, and being of Sanskrit origin, were introduced into the South at or before the time of the expedition of Râma.

2 The words Prâchâm and Udîchâm—of the Eastern and Northern people—occur frequently throughout the Sûtras of Pâṇini. *Vide* for instance, (III. 4, 18 and 19.).

not even once alluded to as the abode of the Âryas. Many towns of Vâlhika[1] are particularly noticed in (Pâṇini), though their names are passed over. He speaks of Sankala and Kâpishî.[2] The Âryas had occupied the Panjab, and descended into Sindhu (modern Sindha), into Pâraskara[3] (modern Thala Pârkara), and into Kachchha[4] (modern Kutch) which was then an island bordering on the sea. The Kurus and Madras had taken possession on the Panjab-side of the plains at the foot of the Himalayas. The Bharatas had advanced into the East.[5] Colonies were established in Kamboja, Souvira, Magadha, and Kosala.[6] The Himalaya, with its three summits[7] towering over the rest, and inspiring awe, particularly attracted attention, its only one summit being mentioned in the Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ.[8] The rivers Vipâs (modern Bias), Suvâstu (modern Swat), and the ocean-like Indus fertilized the fields of the Âryas, conveyed their boats, and afforded them great aid in extending their dominion.[9] Some explorers had marched up to the

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1 It must be noticed that Pâṇini calls Vâlhika by the name of Vâhika. *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (IV. 2, 117.).

2 *Vide* the Sûtras of Pâṇini (IV. 2, 75.) and (IV. 2, 99.).

3 *Vide* the Sûtras of Pâṇini (IV. 3, 93.) and (VI. 1, 157.).

4 *Vide* the above (IV. 2, 133.) and interpret (IV. 3, 10.) along with it.

5 *Vide* the above (IV. 2, 130-131.) and (II. 4, 66.).

6 *Vide* the above (IV. 1, 175.) (IV. 1, 148, 170, and 171.).

7 *Vide* the Sûtra (V. 4, 147.).

8 *Vide* the *Ṛ*ik-Sanhitâ (VIII. 44, 16.) and the Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ (13, 14.), where Kakut in the sense of a summit (uchchrita) is used.

9 *Vide* Pâṇini's Sûtras (IV. 2, 77.) and (IV. 2, 74.), where the Northern side of the Vipâs is specially mentioned.

Shone and had taken possession of some places.[1] Ushînara, situated beyond Kâmpîla (modern Cabul) and rich in its flocks of sheep and wool, manufactured woolen blankets and imported[2] them into Vâlhika, which included the modern Panjab, and a part of Afghanistan, watered by the Swat, and extended beyond modern Balkh. A number of settlements, made by individual families and their followers, are mentioned by Pâṇini in a group,[3] which, when carefully examined, discovers such names as Pârâsharîya and Maitrâyaṇaka—names almost identical with those of the well-known Shâkhâs of the Pârâsharyas and Maitrâyaṇîyas.[4] The names of Moudgalîyas and Shâṇḍilyâyanas are suggestive.[5] The Sûtra which mentions sixty-five places at once is highly important, as some of them can be identified with those noticed by ancient European geographers such as Ashmaka[6] (their Assini). Shâlâtura was the place of Pâṇini.[7] Perhaps the position of Eastern, Western, and Nothern Âryan settlements was determined by the position of Shâlâtura, for the Nothern Kurus and Madras

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1 *Vide* Pâṇini's Sûtra (IV. 1, 43.).

2 *Vide* of the same (II. 4, 20.). Even now hundreds of blankets, made of wool, are brought down into India from the side of Cabul by caravans who enter India about the beginning of November. *Vide* the Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ (23, 18.) for Kâmpîla.

3 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (IV. 2, 80.).

4 *Vide* the Charaṇa-vyûha.

5 These names occur in the Sûtra (IV. 2, 80.).

6 Pliny's history and Herodotus.

7 Tradition mentions Shâlâtura as the place of Pâṇini. The Chinese traveller Hiouen-thsang mentions a flourishing grammar-school at Shâlâtura.

are located on the Panjab-side of the Himalaya in the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa.[1] The colony was named after the surname (Gotra) of the Ârya who had established it, for the names of Gotras and settlements were often identical.[2] A particular distinction between a native place and a place of residence was made[3]—a fact which shows that a spirit of adventurous emigration and of making settlements strongly prevailed. The boundaries of the settlements could not be precisely marked, for some places were considered as pure and others as impure,[4] according as it was convenient to celebrate a sacrifice, or according as the Aryan settlers predominated, as they were hemmed in on all sides by wild mountain-tribes like the Youdheyas.[5] Yet they had occupied both the banks of the Indus which runs through the Panjab and Sindha,[6] and which breaks up its banks and insidiously changes its course. The rising ground, between the high ridges formed by the water-shed of its tributaries,

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1 *Vide* the Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa (VIII. 14.). The princes in these districts got the Vairâjya-coronation-ceremony performed on them.

2 *Vide* for instance (IV. 1, 148.), where Souvira is both the name of a district and of a Gotra.

3 *Vide* Sûtras of Pâṇini (IV. 3, 89, and 90.).

4 In forming Âshcharya by (VI. 1, 147.), the contrary example of Âcharya is given. Again according to a Vârtika on (III. 1, 100.) of Pâṇini as given by Bhaṭṭoji in his Siddhânta Koumudî, Âcharyo deshah *i.e.*, a pure country, is mentioned and distinguished.

5 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (V. 3, 117.), and compare (IV. 3, 91.) with it.

6 *Vide* of the same (III. 1, 115.). This Sûtra characteristically describes the force of the Indus. The government of the country has always to pass laws for the rights of the people which are invaded by the river. In Sindha, this is well-known.

was brought under cultivation and was known as the Antarghana[1] (the solid middle). Sacrifices were performed: the Ksatriyas hunted, enjoying the sports, and ruled over their territories which were denominated after the names of their clans.[2] They showed a great power and energy in establishing themselves, building towns, digging wells, and subjugating the aborigines.[3] The territory (Visaya) under one prince was divided into districts (Jânapadas) and townships; hamlets and stations of herdsmen were scattered about.[4] The establishment of stations of herdsmen discovers the pastoral condition, at least of those who constituted the subject-races called the Sangha (the crowd or the populace). By way of distinction, the Âryas were called the higher classes or Utgha[5] as we have already pointed out. Sometimes learned Brâhmanas, who could superintend sacrifices, were called by the names[6] of the district where they resided—a fact which gives grounds to infer that they had to travel to the court of a prince or baron—a Ksatriya, who intended to perform a sacrifice. Yet the power and suzerainty of one Ksatriya-prince was recognized.[7] Hence sometimes

1 *Vide* the Sûtra (III. 3, 78.) of Pânini. Kâshikâ-vritti observes "Antarghana Sanjnâbhûto Vâhikesu desha-vishesa uchyate."

2 *Vide* the above (IV. 1, 174.) the wording is "te tadrâjâh."

3 The inhabitants of mountain-fastnesses are already referred to, *Vide* the Sûtra of Pânini (IV. 3, 56.).

4 The terms jânapada, grâma, nagara and ghosa occur in the work of Pânini.

5 We have explained their distinction at length in the first section of the fourth chapter.

6 *Vide* the Sûtras of Pânini (V. 4, 104.).

7 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pânini (V. 1, 41.).

strange political combinations took place, when suzerainty was to be established.[1] The valley of the Indus, as it flows through the Panjab and Sindha, and approaches Kutch, was the scene of Âryan activities at the time of Pâṇini, though some Âryas had penetrated to the river Shone in the East.[2]

The times of Kâtyâyana.

The spirit of adventures and exploration was now more developed. The desert, which separates the valley of the Indus from that of the Jamna, and which threatened for a time to thwart the progress of Âryan colonization, was explored and named at the time of Kâtyâyana.[3] The Âryan names are significant. The names of large deserts and stupendous mountains discover the feelings with which they are first approached such as the fear they inspire or the hope they raise. The Âryas called the desert of Rajputana—Maru[4]—an abode of death. The geographical bearings of the desert were determined, and the Âryas specially directed their energy to the occupation of the fertile valley of the Ganges.[5] The sphere of the activities of the Sâlvas or Schlavas—

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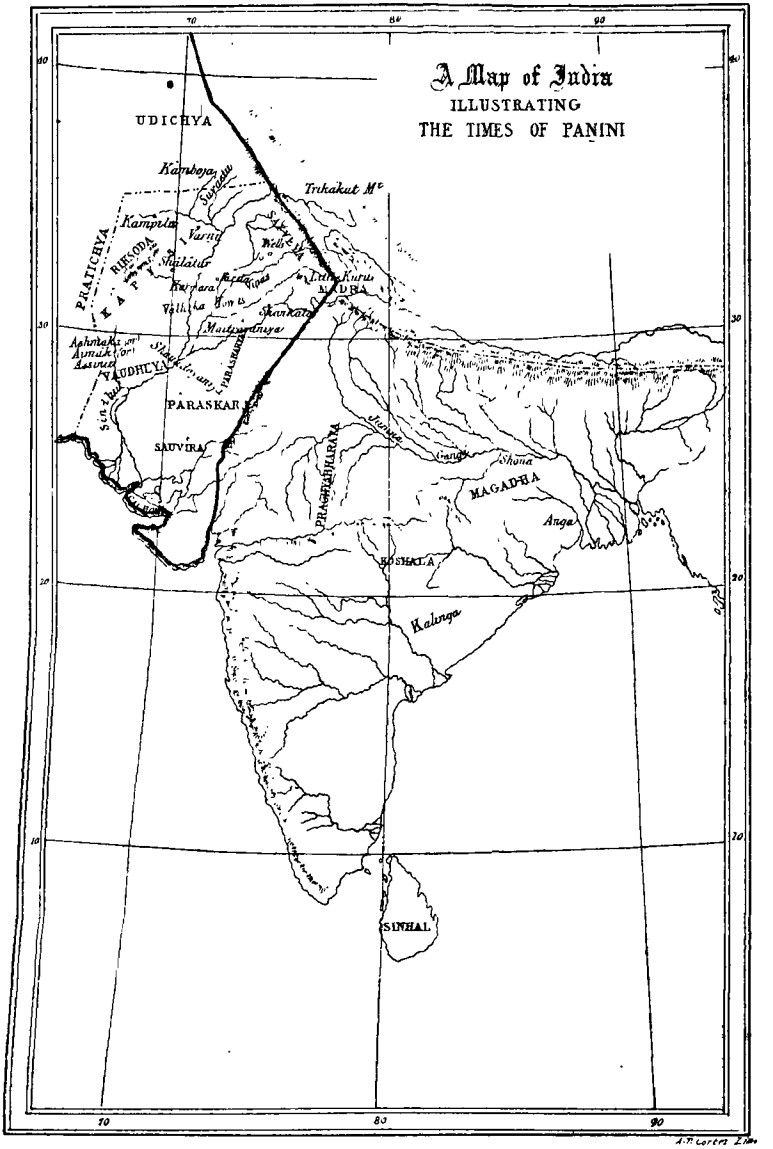
1 Special interests existed. Where different interests exist, combinations or parties are developed as a matter of course. *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (V. 1, 11.), where the interests of the Charakas are distinctly mentioned.

2 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (V. 1, 43.).

3 The Vârtika is :—Maru shabdasyopasankhyânam.

4 *Vide* the Vârtika about the name already quoted.

5 The discussion about what was the abode of the Âryas (the Âryâvarta) was originated in the time of Kâtyâyana.



The valleys of the Indus and its tributaries was the scene of Aryan activities at the time of Panini. The red line indicates this.

settlers in Madra and its vicinity—was enlarged.[1] Their settlement included new tracts and towns.[2] The Sâlveyas also extended their boundaries. Numberless places in parts of India were considered to have or really had no names. Modern travellers in Africa often find large tracts and interesting villages on the banks of purling streams without names by which to distinguish them. The same difficulties the ancient Âryas had to encounter in India. A settlement of the name of Chola was made. Its position on the map can be identified.[3] The South, into which Râma had made an expedition and in one or two parts of which colonies had been established, was not totally neglected.[4] The kingdom of the Pân*d*yas or the Whites flourished—exercising a general civilizing influence on the Turanians, imbuing their minds with Âryan feeling and thought, and enlarging the focus of their observation and knowledge by directing their attention to the Âryas in the north.[5] The fertile and

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1 *Vide* the Vârtika on (IV. 1, 173.) of the Sûtras of Pâ*n*ini. The Vârtika is important as it shows how the Sâlveyas had grown, and what tracts they had occupied. *Vide* the Sûtras (168-178 of IV. 1.) of Pâ*n*ini. The Vârtika is given in the Vârtika-Pâ*th*a, but is not met with in the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali.

2 Udumbara, Linga, Sharada*n*da, Tilakhala, and others are mentioned in the above Vârtika. The town Udumbarâvatî is often mentioned by Patanjali. Some Brâhma*n*as in Gujarath are still designated Oudumbaras.

3 It is known to begin from Tirupati in the Madras Presidency and to include a portion of the Coromandal coast. *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (IV. 1, 4.), pages 60 and 61. The remarks of Patanjali are important from a geographical point of view.

4 *Vide* the Vârtika " Pân*d*orjanapadât ksatriyât-*dya*n vaktavyah."

5 The Âryâvarta is often and often defined by Patanjali as the abode of the genuine Âryas.

romantic banks of the Godâvarî, the Kâverî and the Tâmbraparṇî proved too tempting not to attract numbers of Âryan settlers.[1] The emigrants made a distinction between the valleys of the Ganges and of the Godâvarî. The first they considered their native home—a land of purity and of sacrifices—and the last—a country where wealth was to be amassed. Not satisfied with the new countries where the aborigines had not yet learnt to respect the rites of the Âryas, some returned to their native country—the valley of the Ganges. Hence a distinction was made, based on sacrificial grounds, and a country of no rites is mentioned by Kâtyâyana—a fact which suggests the consolidation of the Âryan settlements in the Gangetic valley.[2] Pâṇini gives minute details of the Panjab and the valley of the Indus. Kâtyâyana does not refer to it, but speaks of the desert of Maru (modern Rajaputana). The times had advanced: the Âryas had made progress: their energy was at this time engrossed not so much by geographical discoveries as by the questions they had to settle among themselves—questions partly philosophical and partly theological.[3]

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[1] *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, Benares edition, where the Vârtika is not given. Yet Patanjali mentions the town of Nâsik. The settlements of Pâṇḍya, Chola, and Kerala, were beyond the Godâvarî in the South. Hence the word *iṣyate* in the Vârtika on the Sûtra (V. 4, 75.) of Pâṇinî, as given by Bhaṭṭojî, deserves attention. We have differently construed it.

[2] The Vârtika which determines by inference what was the 'Âcharyo-deshah' already referred to, gives grounds for this statement.

[3] *Vide* remarks on scholasticism made in the section which treats of the literature of the Âchârya-period.

Times of Patanjali.

Emigration into the South of India continued, and as fertile and salubrious localities were discovered, it acquired a new significance, and produced a new difficulty, rather political than religious. If it had not been obviated in time, the cause of the Âryan settlements on the banks of the Ganges would have suffered. An idea had been gradually growing. Pâṇini implies that he considered some places to be specially suited to the performance of religious rites.[1] At the time of Kâtyâyana, some places were declared to be pure enough for permanent colonization.[2] The Âryas, in the interval between Kâtyâyana and Patanjali, developed the idea, and based upon it an enactment which had more power than an act of a modern legislative council. The former simply embodied the general feeling of the people and expressed it. The latter is imposed without the consent of those who are really affected by it. A religious feeling is a gradual growth: a legal enactment of conquerors is a coercive measure suddenly imposed from without. The Gangetic valley, where the Âryas had settled for centuries, was now considered the native home—the mother-land. It was significantly called the Âryâvarta—the abode of the Âryas—the holy land—pre-emi-

1 *Vide* the remarks about 'Âcharyo-deshah' already made.

2 In two places Patanjali recurs to this definition of the Âryâvarta. *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya, Benares edition, (II. 4, 1.), page 397, and (VI. 3, 3.), page 104. We have already translated the remarks of Patanjali in our section on the literature of the Âchârya-period.

nently the country where the educated Âryas lived, where schools flourished, where learning was patronized, and where Âryan customs and institutions existed pure and uncontaminated.[1] The boundaries of the Âryâvarta (the holy land), though a little enlarged afterwards at the time of Manu and Amarasinha, were defined and permanently fixed.[2] It was bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the downs near the Vindhyâ range known then by the name of Pâriyâtra which literally means the limit of travelling, on the west by the mountain-range of Âdarshâvali (literally a range of mirrors) on account of the marble rocks with which it still abounds—now contracted into Arâvali, and on the east by Kâlakavana (literally a forest of death)—modern Rajmahâl hills. The country thus defined was divided into Northern, Western, and Eastern districts as in the time of Pâṇini, though their centre was now changed. Shâlâtura was no longer the centre. The rising plain between the Ganges and Jamna was now distinguished as the central district, and the Panjab and Vâlhika were ignored. The Âryas in Vâlhika were supposed to have degenerated. The animal breed of Vâlhika was declared to be unfit for an important

1 The educated are called Shiṣṭas. The number of schools already noticed by us were active in the Âryâvarta. A Yajna could be properly performed in the Âryâvarta. *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya on the subject of the Âryâvarta to which we have already referred.

2 In the North the Âryâvarta was bounded by the Himalaya, in the South by the Pâriyâtraka, on the West by the Âdarshâvali, and on the East by the Kâlakavana. Manu declared in common with the author of the Amarakosa that on the East and West, the Âryâvarta was bounded by the sea.

sacrifice.[1] The large tract was excluded from the Âryâvarta. This change can be easly explained. The Âryas on the banks of the Ganges made a great progress in every department of life: civilization rapidly advanced: different difficult branches of learning were zealously cultivated: the political constitution of the Âryan settlers in the Gangetic valley was consolidated. The Âryans in Vâlhika, on the contrary showed signs of being influenced by the energetic aborigines of the mountain cliffs. In Vâlhika, the religious rites could not be punctiliously and systematically performed. Âryan settlers of energy and enterprise had descended into the Gangetic valley, where the Ksatriyas who had made some settlements at the time of Pâṇini, and who had often quarrelled among themselves for the division of the spoils of war and for the occupation of the country, had learnt sobriety and decent manners, had developed into Râjas whose councils consisted of old, sedate, and experienced senators, and whose conduct was regulated by

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 1, 5.), page 81. He expounds the exegetical rules—where inferential and direct statements are made, the direct alone is to be accepted, and of two statements, principal and subordinate, the knowledge of an action is to be limited to the principal only—observing that "an ox of Vâhika or Balkh is not to be used for a sacrifice, and that a goat is not fit for an Agnisomîya-sacrifice." Though Sanskrit was spoken in the Panjab, and though the rules of the grammar of Pâṇini were in a way enforced in it, yet it was without the pale of the Âryâvarta properly so called. He recurs to the same example and arguments in(VIII. 3, 1.), page 63. We have dissented from the recognized interpretation of this passage. We find that the recognized interpretation is faulty, for it does not satisfy the logical conditions of exegetics.

the customs, the enforcement of which zealous and educated Brâmhaṇas watched,[1] who had sufficient leisure and means to encourage philosophy and literature, science and arts, and who had perceived the importance of respecting the rights of their neighbours, as their aid against barbarous invaders was often required. The populace consisting of semi-Âryans and the aborigines had been, in the mean time, Âryanized.[2] Âryan settlements in the South of India had also developed into flourishing kingdoms. The settlements of Chola, Pândya, and Kerala grew in prosperity and power. The towns of Nâsik on the Godâvarî, and of Kânchî in the valley of the Kâverî were familiarly known to Patanjali.[3] Yet Gayâ[4] or Râjagriha if they had existed, would have been noticed, specially when they were in the Âryâvarta, and when traffic between the Âryâvarta, and the remote South was or appeared to have been frequent and close. The want of good roads could create no difficulty in this connection. For Brâhmaṇas, careless of the

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1 The Shiṣṭas already referred to.

2 The word Brahmaṇya is significant. It means conforming to Âryan customs and institutions. A Dasyu prince is called Brahmaṇya in the Mahâbhârata—Shânti-Parva.

3 *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (VI. 1, 3.), page 26, for 'Nâsikyam nagaram.' It appears to be a Vârtika of Kâtyâyana. Again *Vide* of the same (IV. 2, 2.), page 74 where among other names Kânchîpura is mentioned.

4 Gayâ is mentioned in the Zendâvestâ in the form of Gayamerethen. In Nirukta (12-19) 'Gaya-shirasi' as interpreted by Ourṇanâbha. The Nirukta of Yâska notices it and explains the word—Gayâ. But the town of Gayâ was not known even to Patanjali. The lower Gangetic valley acquired importance only during the times of the Buddhists.

comforts of life and patiently drudging on foot from day to day travel still from remote Kânchî to Benares, though they do not possess the original Âryan energy and are not warmed by real Âryan aspirations. The high road to the South (Daksinâ-patha) diverted Âryan energy—when exaggerated reports of the lakes[1] of the South were circulated—at a time when all the Âryan activities could be engrossed by the Âryâvarta, where there were districts not yet occupied by Brâhmanas[2] and where there were arable tracts, not yet brought under cultivation.[3] Land for pasturage and forests abounded.[4] Perhaps every town had its wilderness.[5] In the morning when the sun rises in his glory,[6] a Vaishya boy tended his cattle, now counting them, and now lying at ease on a grassy seat, and casting a glance at the romantic forest-scenery that opened upon him and produced in him new hopes and aspirations—a day-dream in which every youth is prone to indulge.[7]

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition (I. 1, 5.), page 82, where "In the Daksinâpatha, big lakes are called Sarasyah and Sarânsi.

2 *Vide* the same (I. 4, 1.), page 262. 'A-brâhmanako deshah,' a region without Brâhmanas.

3 Again, a tract without a cultivator (A-vrisalako deshah).

4 References to pastoral life in the Mahâbhâsya are too many to admit of a special reference.

5 *Vide* the same (I. 2, 2.), page 208. A township not remote from the Shirîsa-forests is called Shirîsâh (and) the forest of that township is called Shirîsa Vanam.

6 *Vide* the same (3. 1, 2.), page 28, where the Sun-rise is mentioned.

7 All the above statements are based on such passages in the Mahâbhâsya as the following :—(I. 2, 2.), page 209. (I. 3, 2.), page 255. *Vide* (II. 3, 1.), page 379. The words mean :—the river meandering for a krosha (two miles) and enchanting forest-scenery extending over two miles.

At noon, a wearied thirsty traveller,—now treading a slippery foot path[1] which only goats can follow, now entering an impenetrable primeval forest[2] where the way concealed under leaves could not be made out, and now emerging from it to find his way to a meadow, that betokened that the habitations of men were at hand—asked a cowherd where a watering place was, where he could comfortably pass the day that he might take advantage of a boat and sail up the Ganges to the place of his destination.[3] The cow-herd boy cheerfully followed the traveller to the boundary of a forest, for it was his duty to love and help travellers;[4] because, where travelling is constant, special kindness to travellers is a duty willingly performed. The traveller might be a pedlar who supplied the wants of villages[5] where large tracts, divided into beds of paddy-rice and Mâsa-pulse, yielded an abundant harvest, and where the Vaisha boys, driving their cattle home, were concealed in dust, at the approach of evening when the moon, hid half behind a cloud, modestly shed

1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, (I. 4, 4.), page 293, "tadyathâ-loke âvanântâd â-udakântât priyam pântham anuvrajet"—a passage which means—follow a good traveller to the end of a forest or to some place of water.

2 *Vide* the same (V. 1, 2.), page 19.

3 The above statements are based on such passages in the Mahâbhâsya as the following:—notice the different ways which travellers used:—the Vâri-patha (by water), the Jangala patha (a way through a forest), the Sthala-patha (by land), the Kântâra-patha (through an impenetrable forest), the Aja patha—a difficult path by which sheep only can go.

4 *Vide* (I. 4, 4.), page 293. It is already translated.

5 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya (I. 3, 1.), page 242 "who where goes for travelling" is the translation of the words used.

her soft light about on the land, which in some cases was owned by peasants themselves.[1] Tracts of land were irrigated by wells.[2] Country-life essentially differed from the life of those who dwelt in a walled town where opulence had enabled landlords and Ksatriyas to erect magnificent palaces[3] surrounded in their turn by their own walls.[4] The Brâhmanas, the Ksatriyas, the Vaishyas, and the good Shûdras, whom Patanjali invariably characterizes as Vrisalas, congregated in towns, discharging their duties towards one another. At the time of Patanjali, it appears that boys tending cattle were addressed in Sanskrit, of course, simple and colloquial.[5] The different Ksatriya princes of Madra, Pânchâla, Vidarbha, and Videha ruled in prosperity and peace.[6] A Brâhmana prince perhaps ruled in the central division where Brâhmana settlements were powerful, when a barbarian leader either of the ancient Turuskas or of Asiatic hordes hovering on the banks of the Indus broke in upon them, and laid

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 1, 7.), page 119. *Vide* (I. 1, 5.), page 90. *Vide* (2. 3, 2.), page 383. *Vide* (II. 1, 1.), page 311, the words are :—" Kûpe hastadaksinah panthâh agrachandramasampashya."

2 The Kulyâs or channels for watering a field are often mentioned. *Vide* for instance (I, 1, 5.), page 91.

3 The Prâsâdas are mentioned in (I. 1, 4.). page 68. Prâkâra is mentioned in (V. 1, 1.), page 6.

4 *Vide* the above.

5 *Vide* the same (I. 1, 5.), page 90, where a wild boy (grâmya) with his feet covered over with dust (pânshulapâda), ignorant of what is going on (aprakaranajna) is addressed.

6 *Vide* for instance the same (I. 4, 1.), page 258.

a siege to Sâketa[1] (modern Oudha). The news immediately spread throughout the settlements of the Âryas, and students in numerous schools thought it proper to speak of his expedition. The towns of Srughna, Mathurâ,—a flourishing seat or resort[2] of the Kurus,—Kousâmbî, Vârâ*n*asî, Pâ*t*aliputra, Udumbarâvatî, Gonarda, and remote Kashmir[3] were convulsed by the fate of Sâketa. The Âryan instinct for foreseeing a common danger, and forming a combination for preventing it, and the sense of belonging to one community, however scattered and however disjoined, are still to be discovered in the modern Brâhma*n*as in India, whose intellect is still influenced by the same doctrines to be established by almost the same arguments, and whose heart is still moved by the same hopes and fears. To sum up, at the time of Patanjali, the high road to Southern India was established, when the prosperity of the great community in the valleys of the Ganges and its many mighty tributaries made it necessary to define the Âryâvarta, the land of the Âryas—from which Vâlhika, the abode of the Âryas at the time of Pâ*n*ini, was excluded on the one hand, as it had degenerated, and the valley of the Kâverî on

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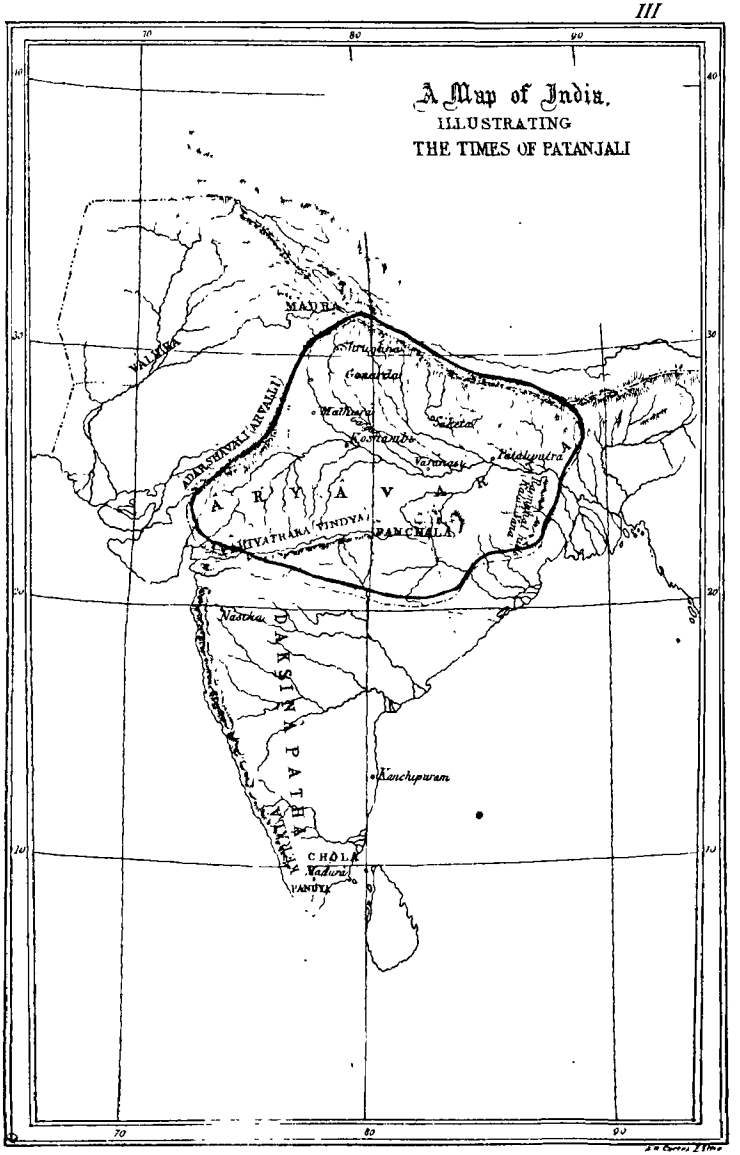
1 The oft-quoted passage, the value of which from a chronological point of view is considered in the next section, is—the Yavanas besieged Sâketa (Oudha).

2 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (IV. 1, 1.), page 15, the original words are :—Bahu-Kurucharâ Mathurâ.

3 These towns are often mentioned by Patanjali in the course of his discussions.



The Aryavartha is declined by Patan. The red line marks its bounderies. The scene of Aryan ... revolves was the valley of the Jamna and the upper and middle valley of the Ganges

the other hand, as it attracted the Âryas—to prevent their emigration, and to consolidate the settlements in the Âryâvarta.

Conclusion.

After the Nirvâṇa of Goutama Buddha, places like Gayâ and Râjagṛiha acquired a great importance. Pilgrims from different parts of India contributed to their prosperity. But throughout the Mahâbhâsya, no allusion to them is made. From the geographical notices in Patanjali, Kâtyâyana, and Pâṇini, and from the fact that the Âryâvarta as defined by Patanjali is not once mentioned in Buddhistic literature, at least such as we have had access to, the conclusion cannot but be drawn that Patanjali had flourished before Goutama Buddha promulgated his doctrines. Only Pâṭaliputra, well-known to the Buddhists, is mentioned. But Pâṭaliputra was not created by the Buddhists. It existed long before Goutama Buddha. The philosophy, literature, customs, and geography of the times of Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana, and Patanjali, point to the same conclusion. The mass of internal evidence, corroborated by different departments of knowledge and social institutions, cannot be, or rather ought not to be, set aside without the careful examination of its value, especially when the external evidence pitted against it can be explained and disposed of.

Section VI.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE AND ITS VALUE.

When internal evidence and external evidence harmonize, a conclusion based upon them is in one sense incontrovertible. But when the two are opposed, internal evidence is to be preferred in the case of the history of the Indian Âryas. Indian chronology is materially helped by internal evidence. Again, when what is called external evidence, conflicting with internal evidence, is rationally and critically explained, the value of internal evidence is increased.

The arguments against our conclusion stated.

The evidence, that can be produced against our conclusion that Patanjali flourished before Buddha Goutama, is cumulative in its nature, and the conditions essential to the validity of cumulative evidence are:—that there should be a sufficiently large number of witnesses or statements or marks, and that they should be independent of one another, that is, not in any way deducible from one another. The evidence, which European savants have accumulated, and which can be pitted against our evidence, is essentially cumulative. When their writings are examined, they appear to us to make six statements or to produce six marks or items. We will first categorically state them:—1. "That Mouryas (a clan of Buddhists) are mentioned in the passage—that images or likenesses are invented or made by

Mouryas, greedy of gold[1]:" 2. "That Yavanas (Greeks) and Mâdhyamikas (a sect of Buddhists) are mentioned in the passages—that a Yavana (recently) besieged Sâketa and that a Yavana (recently) besieged Mâdhyamikas."[2] 3. That Chandragupta and Puspamitra (princes of Buddhistic times) are mentioned as possessing halls—the hall of Chandragupta and the hall of Puspamitra.[3] 4. "That Puspamitra sacrifices, and that Brâhmanas (Yâjakas) officiate as priests (Yâjayanti) at his sacrifice."[4] 5. "That we here officiate as priests at Puspamitra's sacrifice."[5] 6. "That (literary works called) Vâsavadattâ Sumanottarâ and

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (V. 3, 2.), page 73. The original Sûtra of Pânini is "jîvikârthe châpanye" (*lum*) which comes by anvritti. This disappearance of the affix *kan* holds if there are two marks—*jîvikârthatvam* (the purpose of livelihood,) and *apanyatvam* (the property not to be sold). There are such gods as Shiva, Skanda, Vishâkha. These are sold, yet they have no *kan* attached to them. The forms are not Shivaka, Skandaka, Vishakhaka. How is this? This is the question put to Patanjali. He says:—"Mouryairhiranyârthibhirarchyâh prakalpitâ bhavet tâsu na syât. By the Mouryas, seekers, or greedy of gold, images are made, let it be, with regard to them: there can be no *kan*. These which (are) at the present time for being worshipped, with regard to them, *kan* will be. Their forms will be Shivaka, &c." We have referred to this passage more than once.

2 *Vide* the same (III. 2, 2.), page 74. "Arunad Yavanah Sâketam, arunad Yavanomâdhyamikân."

3 *Vide* the same (I. 1, 9.), page 167. "Pushpamitra-sabhâ, Chandragupta-sabhâ."

4 *Vide* the same (III. 1, 2.), page 26. "Puspamitro yajate yâjakâ yâjayanti."

5 *Vide* the same (III. 2, 2.), page 77. "Puspamitram yâjayâmah."

Bhaimarathî (are mentioned by Patanjalî)."[1] The parentheses are our own and put in to show what is not in the original and what is added. The statements give the literal translations of the passages as they occur in Patanjali. On these statements the inference is based that Patanjali flourished about the time of Puspamitra—the last Shûdra-king mentioned in the Bhâgavata-Purâna which can have no value as a history for it does not record contemporary events, but which directly pretends to predict future events, and that Puspamitra flourished when Menandros, a Græco-Bactrian, invaded India—Menandros whose date can be ascertained from Greek records. We need not state that we do not accept the validity of this evidence; because Puspamitra is yet to be identified with the prince mentioned in the Bhâgavata-Purâna, because Menandros is not mentioned in the Mahâbhâsya, and because the Mâdhyamikas of Patanjali are yet to be connected with, and identified as, the Mâdhyamikas—a sect founded by Nâgârjuna, whose date can be approximately fixed by means of the statements made in Buddhistic writings of Thibet and Ceylon. We have examined the Mahâbhâsya and have come to the conclusion that the external[2]

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[1] *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, (IV. 3, 1.), page 81. "Vâsavadattâ Sumanottarâ, na cha bhavati Bhaimarathî." We have quoted the original purposely that our translation may be compared.

[2] Goldstücker produces and arranges external evidence with an energetic vehemence and personal enthusiasm, which is a characteristic of European philologers. His essay, though it fails to fix the chronology of Patanjali, is important as it succeeded in rousing attention, and eliciting discussion to be determined by the writings of Pânini, Kâtyâyana, and Patanjali.

evidence produced does not warrant the conclusion as to the chronology of Patanjali.

The Mouryas.

The first important question is—in what connection are the Mouryas mentioned by Patanjali? He comments on the Sûtra (V. 3, 99.) of Pâṇini, the literal translation of which is—"(likenesses) not to be sold and for the purposes of a livelihood (do not take the termination *kan*)." The parenthesis indicates the Anuvṛitti from the preceding Sûtras." Patanjali raises the question[1]—"(what of such likenesses as of Shiva, Skanda, and Vishâkha), which are known as Shiva, Skanda, Vishâkha, (and not as Shivaka, Skandaka, and Vishâkhaka)? This is incorrect grammatically. How is this? Likenesses, invented or designed by the Mouryas, greedy of gold, cannot take (kan). These *now* for the purpose of worship (established) will take it." We have stated the position laid down in the original text. But *now* being an adverb, it must be connected with the word *established*. The commentary of Patanjali throws this much light only. It has an important bearing on the history of idolatry in India. The ancient Vedic Âryas worshipped thirty-three[2] gods only, variously classified and explained away. But idol-worship as such seems never to have

1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (V. 3, 2.), page 73.

2 Sometimes more gods than thirty-three are mentioned, but in one or two passages in the *Ṛik*-Sanhitâ, of which (III. 9, 9.) mentions apparently 3339 of gods (devas). The words are "Tṛîṇi shatâ tṛi sahastrâṇyagnim trinshachcha devâ nava châsaparyan" These words are repeated exactly in the Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa (II. 7, 12, 2.).

existed. Yet the non-Âryas worshipped gods other than those of the Âryas. Yea, Shishna-devas (worshippers of the Phallus) are mentioned with contempt and condemned in the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ.[1] In the third period of the Vedic polity the Âryas showed a leaning towards idolatry. The Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ distinctly states :—"His (of god) likeness is not: whose name is great glory.[2] (*Vide* the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ (III. 1, 6. 1.). Pâ*n*ini raises a difficulty by his silence as to the idol-worship—an insupportable difficulty as the idols worshipped ought to be called Shivaka, Skandaka, and Vishâkhaka. The Buddhists during the first and second periods of their history did not sanction idolatry: their system is entirely free from idolatrous taint. The Lalita-Vistâra, as well as Dhammapada makes no mention of any idol-worship. But a wild tribe like that of the Mouryas,—the name probably derived from the Mûra-devas of the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ, identified by Patanjali[3] with Mûla-devas (those who worshipped

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1 *Vide* the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (VII. 104, 24.) or (X. 87, 2.) where Mûra-deva is mentioned. Patanjali interprets Mûra-deva into Mûla-deva having original gods. *Vide* his Mahâbhâ*s*ya (VIII. 2, 1.), page 33. *Vide* the *Ri*k-Sanhitâ (V. 20, 2.) where 'anyavrata' is used. *Vide* also (VII. 21, 5.) and (X. 99, 3.) where Shishna-devas are mentioned.

2 In this passage of the Taittirîya-Sanhitâ 'Ayathâ-Devâh' or improper gods are condemned—a fact which gives grounds to believe that such gods began about this time to be worshipped by the Âryas. The literal translation we have given of the (32. 3.) of the Vâjasaneya-Sanhitâ supports this view.

3 *Vide* the Mahâbhâ*s*ya of Patanjali (VIII. 2, 1.), page 33, Benares edition. The affix *s*yañ of Pâ*n*ini forms it. When it is added to Mûra, Mûra is changed into Mourya. The worshippers of aboriginal gods would be its literal meaning if our derivation be adopted.

original gods) and formed by the affix yañ—not as yet Âryanized, made likenesses and sold them. Ignorant of classical Sanskrit, they used incorrect grammatical forms. About the time of Patanjali, the aborigines had temples where idols were worshipped, and some Âryas had degenerated enough to visit the temples.[1] But the Âryas as a class were as yet under the influence of the *Ri*sis only, for Patanjali's definition of a duty (Dharma) supports this statement,[2] and Patanjali cannot be supposed to confound the *Ri*sis with either Brahmavâdinas or Âchâryas, for Patanjali does not recognize the literature of the Brahmavâdins as Vedic.[3] The Mouryas may have been a powerful tribe. But the epithet *greedy of gold* does not show that they had secured the throne of Pâ*ṭa*liputra. They were mean and low, because they sold idols—a profession esteemed neither by the Brâhma*ṇa*s nor Buddhists. The Shrama*ṇa*s, as practising austerities and as opposed to sacrifices, were condemned by the Âryas. The Shatapatha Brâhma*ṇa* mentions them along with low classes like the Châ*ṇḍa*las.[4] Their gown[5] expressed sin. The opposition between Brâhma*ṇa*s and Shrama*ṇa*s was deep and inevitable. The Mouryas helped

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, (V. 3, 2.), Benares edition, page 73, the words are—Yâstvetâs samprati pûjârthâs tâsu bhavisyati.

2 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 1, 1.), page 16.

3 *Vide* the same.

4 *Vide* the Shatapatha Brâhma*ṇa* (XIV. 6, 1, 22.), Weber's edition, page 1086. The wording is:—Châ*ṇḍa*lah a-châ*ṇḍa*lah, shrama*ṇa*h a-shrama*ṇa*h, tâpasah a-tâpasah.

5 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâ*ṇ*ini (V. 2, 20.).

idolatry, equally condemned by the Shramaṇas[1] and the Âchâryas. How can they be considered to be members of a royal family? The Gupta-râjas of Pâṭaliputra were in later times Mouryas. But the converse of this proposition is not true. The Guptas were Mouryas, therefore, it does not follow that all Mouryas were Guptas. Besides, the tribe must have existed long before Chandragupta flourished and exalted it. The exaltation of the tribe is opposed to the character given by Patanjali. No evidence is produced to show that Chandragupta, the founder of the dynasty of the royal Mouryas, or his successors encouraged or established a manufactory for making idols. For these reasons, the Mouryas, who were as yet poor, and who earned their livelihood by making images, were not a tribe exalted by its connection with the ruling princes. Patanjali is not ironical, for his statement is seriously made. He did not think it necessary to enlarge on the statement, for he did not feel the power of idolatry which prevailed among the low and the poor non-Âryas without the pale of Âryan polity.

The Yavanas and Mâdhyamikas.

The Yavanas are sometimes mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit literature of India. European scholars are naturally tempted to identify them

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1 See the article on Samaṇo in Childer's Pâli-dictionary, where Burnouf's opinions as to the relation between Brâhmaṇas and Shramaṇas is given. At the time of, and before Buddha Goutama, there was opposition between Shramaṇas and Brâhmaṇas.

with the Greeks. The question of the identity of the Greeks with the Yavanas has acquired a new significance from its connection with the chronology of Patanjali. No positive or negative evidence is produced in support of the identity, beyond some similarity, of mere sound between the Yavanas and the Ions which is supposed to be the generic name of Greeks, who, however, never called themselves Ions or Ionians. The Ionians formed a colony of the Hellenes in Asia Minor —a colony established in about 1100 B. C., according to accepted European chronology. In the Râmâyaṇa and the Mahâbhârata, the Yavanas are mentioned, but no information is vouchsafed in them by which to identify them with the Greeks. Yet the way in which they are mentioned is important. They had already formed a part of the population of ancient India. But not being genuine Âryas, or rather within the pale of Âryan-polity, they had no recognized status. The question of their status was raised and solved in a manner which shows that at the time no importance was attached to them.[1] They are again never mentioned as invaders of India. Pâṇini speaks of their alphabet.[2] Kâtyâyana does not notice them. Patanjali sometimes notices them but ranks them with the Shakas,[3] who appear

1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (II. 4, 1.) page 397. The Shaka Yavanas were settled inhabitants of the Âryâvarta, as defined by Patanjali.

2 *Vide* the Sûtra of Pâṇini (IV. 1, 49.) with the comments of Kâtyâyana.

3 Among the sacrifices known as Ayanas, 'Shâkyâṇâm Ayanam' or the arrival of the Shâkyas is mentioned. In the Saṇhitâ or Brâhmaṇa literature this sacrifice is not mentioned. They seem

to be an inferior race. The Kâshikâ-vritti, a modern commentary on Pânini, adds that the Yavanas eat while lying down.[1] Some have naturally made much of this statement. But Harivansha, a Purâna, which can be pitted against the Kâshikâ-vritti, mentions that the Yavanas as well as the Kâmbojas got their heads wholly shaved—a statement that the national custom of the Greeks never could sanction; because when Demosthenes sought to conceal himself in a cellar, he got his head shaved that he might be prevented from appearing in public places. Yet granting that the Yavanas and Ionians are the same, how can it be ascertained that they settled in India about 200 B. C., after the expedition of Alexander the Great. If the Ionian colony was formed in 1100 B. C. in Asia Minor, some of its out-laws or even persecuted statesmen might find their way into India and settle in it at that early date, for the Greeks always either persecuted or directly sent into exile their national leaders. We have made this hypothesis only to show how much can be stated in support of our conclusion, while little or nothing is produced as evidence on the side of the identity of the Yavanas with the Greeks. Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra has elaborately discussed the question of the identity of the Yavanas in India with the European Greeks, and

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to have settled in India during the time of the Âchâryas, to have adopted most of the Âryan institutions and customs, and to have introduced caste into their own people. The sacrifices called Ayanas are chronologically important.

1 Bhattoji bases his statement on the Kâshikâ-vritti. We have looked over the Mahâbhâsya carefully and failed to discover this statement.

has shown that the identity is merely imaginary. His brochure is, as usual, learned. But the argument, based on a supposition of the connection of the Yavanas with the Mâdhyamikas, breaks down as soon as it is stated. Before as well as at the time of Patanjali, the word *Mâdhyamika*[1] was used in the sense of central, being derived from Madhya—middle. It is applied to almost any thing central.[2] Patanjali never alludes to Buddha Goutama or his activities or his doctrines. He mentions *Mâdhyamikân* along with the town of Sâketa. The principle of common relationship or Sâmânâdhi-karanya, as the Âchâryas express it, applies, when the statement of Patanjali is to be interpreted. An acute thinker and lecturer like Patanjali cannot violate it. He never violates it. He often states it. Individuals (Mâdhyamikân is accusative plural and must mean individuals) of a certain philosophical Buddhistic sect cannot be mentioned along with a town like Sâketa. Our Pandits would condemn even Patanjali for such a procedure. *Mâdhyamikân*, therefore, refers to central towns or *Grâmas*, a generic Sanskrit word which includes Nagaras (a neuter noun).[3] Patanjali explains *Grâma* or town in the

1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (V. 3, 2.), page 60. The original words :—" anyena shaiphâlikamanyena mâdhyamikam." Thus the word Mâdhyamika in the sense of central is used by Patanjali.

2 In some copies of Patanjali's Mahâbhâsya (of course manuscript copies) Mâdhyamikâm occurs. In one place, a gloss declares Mâdhyamikâ to be a town. The collation of manuscripts discovers strange facts like this, about the Mâdhyamikas—Buddhists of Goldstücker.

3 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 3, 1.), page 242, where Patanjali points out a distinction between Grâma and

same way. Sâketa is a masculine noun. The ellipsis—Mâdhyamikân Grâmân (central towns)[1]—is to be supplied. Besides to speak of individuals, belonging to a philosophical sect being besieged, is simply absurd unless direct persecution is meant, which no sensible invader will ever attempt at a time when he has no footing in the country. A Yavana would naturally seek an alliance with the Buddhists, for the liberality of their views and feelings could aid his cause. The Brâhmaṇas ought to be the natural opponents of the Yavaṇas. Now, the identity of the Mâdhyamikas with the Buddhists is the key-stone of the superstructure raised by learned Goldstücker. But the key-stone gives way as soon as it is touched, and the splendid edifice falls to pieces. The delusion of having fixed the chronology of Patanjali at about 150 B. C.—a date too modern for Patanjali—vanishes. But the strongest argument on the other side is yet to be stated.

The Hall of Chandragupta and the Hall of Puṣpamitra.

Patanjali mentions the Hall of Chandragupta and the Hall of Puṣpamitra. Greek chronology can fix the dates of Chandragupta, and Patanjali can be by some centuries modernized: the question is—

Nagara He confirms the distinction by his remarks on (II. 4, 1.), page 396, where he says—"Grâmapratiṣedhena nagarapratiṣedha." The fact that this statement, though made for argument's sake, shows that Grâma is generic as compared with Nagara.

[1] The word Mâdhyamika in the sense of central is used in the Nirukta of Yâska (12-9). Patanjali uses it. See his Mahâbhaṣya, Benares edition, (V. 3, 2.), page 60. See the principle of Vyâkasheṣa.

where does Patanjali speak of the Hall of Chandragupta and the Hall of Puspamitra? Not in commenting on the Sûtra[1] where one naturally expects it, but in commenting on a Sûtra in the first book of Pâṇini.[2] Any part of the commentary where the names occur, however closely examined, does not discover any special mark such as the name of Châṇakya, whose history cannot bo separated from that of Chandragupta. Even the commentary on the word Nirvâṇa does not afford any aid in identifying the persons mentioned. The absence of any corroboration compelled us to procure and examine a manuscript copy of the Mahâbhâsya. The copy in our possession does not tally with the Benares edition in one point only though in other respects, they are identical. Our copy mentions Puspamitra only. The Benares edition mentions both Chandragupta and Puspamitra. This result is inevitable, so long as the Mahâbhâsya is not critically and exhaustively examined. But such an examination will not finally settle the question under discussion, for the comparison of the different copies of the Mahâbhâsyas known, of the Kâshikâ-vritti, and of the Siddhânta-Koumudî, and the collation of the examples, by which they illustrate the Sûtras of Pâṇini, establish the tendency in Indian teachers to substitute proper

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[1] The Sûtra of Pâṇini (II. 4, 23.) is the place where Patanjali should introduce the Hall of Chandragupta. But he is silent on this point.

[2] In commenting on (I. 1, 68.) of the Sûtras of Pâṇini, Patanjali mentions the Hall of Chandragupta. See the Mahâbhâsya (I. 1, 9.), page 167, Benares edition.

names familiar to them for those in the text they teach. The Kâshikâ-vritti at times makes such changes, though it follows the Mahâbhâsya as closely as it can. The Siddhânta-Koumudî deviates directly and substitutes the names most familiar to its author. This tendency deserves special attention, when we consider the strange vicissitudes through which the Mahâbhâsya has passed. Bhartrihari states at a time, when even a single copy of the Mahâbhâsya could not be procured, that Chandrâchârya got a copy from the Deccan, and that the study of the Mahâbhâsya was thus revived. Râja-tarangini corroborates Bhartrihari. The history of the Mahâbhâsya renders it probable that the tendency of teachers already noticed affected its text so far as mere immaterial examples were concerned.[1] Hence on isolated names like those of Chandragupta and Puspamitra, a statement as to the chronology of Patanjali cannot be based. But this conclusion is strengthened by the examination of the places in the commentary where Puspamitra is mentioned.

Puspamitra.

Puspamitra is a Vâlhika prince, according to Râja-tarangani, in or about Kâshmir, a part of Vâlhika. A direct attempt is made to accommodate

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[1] It is always difficult to illustrate and exemplify the Sûtras, for the general rules, particular rules, and individual rules with their exceptions and counter-exceptions, dove-tail into a system which can be elucidated by means of examples only. But the rule (II. 4, 23.) of Pânini is not of this nature. But the examples like Chandragupta Sabhâ are not material.

Puspamitra and find room for him in the sacrificial economy by interpreting the root *yaj* (to sacrifice) in a metaphysical way, an attempt not any way opposed to the general tenor of the Mahâbhâsya. One continued, consistent, and indivisible fact—a sacrifice is split up into two parts, a sacrifice as performed by priests who chant the Mantras, operating on sacrificial instruments and materials, preparing and throwing offerings into the fire, and the formula—this is not mine—which a sacrificer (Yajamâna) repeats as an offering is thrown into the sacred fire.[1] On this metaphysical distinction

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâsya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (III. 1, 2.), page 26. "Yajyâdisu châviparyâsah, yajyâdisu châviparyâso vaktavyah, Puspamitro yajate yâjakâ yâjayantîti, tatra bhavitavyam Puspamitro yâjayate yâjakâ yajantîti, yajyâdisu châviparyâso nânâkriyânâm yajyarthatvât, yajyâdisu châviparyâsah siddhah, kutah, nânâkriyânâm yajyarthatvât, nânâkriyâ yajerarthâh, nâvashyam yajir hâvih-praksepana eva vartate, kim tarhi, tyâgepi vartate, tad yathâ, aho yajata ityuchyate yah sustu tyâgam karoti tam cha Puspamitrah karoti, yâjakâh prayojayantîti." The following is the translation of this passage. "And there is no-mistake (aviparyâsa) in the case of yajyâdi (roots like yaj). And no-mistake in the case of yajyâdi is to be declared. Puspamitra sacrifices, the Yâjakas cause (him) to sacrifice. There it should be:—Puspamitra causes (the priests) to sacrifice, and the priests (Yâjakas) sacrifice. There is no-mistake in yajyâdi, because many actions are expressed by yaji (the root yaj). And that there is no-mistake in the case of yajyâdi (roots like yaj) (is) established. Whence? Because many actions are expressed by yaj. Many actions (are) expressed by yaj. (The root) yaj (is) not necessarily used (vartate) in the sense of throwing an oblation (into a fire) only. What then? It is also used in the sense of a formula. That (is) this. Well, who repeats the formula (tyâga) (he) it is said, yajate. And Puspamitra repeats the formula. The priests cause him to do it." 1. In this passage, a distinction is pointed out between *throwing an oblation into a fire* (havih-praksepana) and *tyâga* (renunciation). In the sacrificial system,

some scholars insist as chronological evidence. Patanjali directly states that Vâlhika, as beyond the pale of the Âryâvarta, is unfit for the purposes of a sacrifice. How can he permit a Vâlhika prince like Puspamitra to sacrifice? The distinction is metaphysically known to Patanjali for it was not recognized by the *Ri*sis whom alone Patanjali recognizes, as he more than once insists on their dicta being the only foundation of all duty (Dharma).[1] The ancient *Ri*sis and the Âchâryas do not sanction the performance of a sacrifice by a Shûdra-prince. The modern Brâhma*n*as are opposed to it. How can Patanjali maintain it? Besides, this one isolated statement does not compromise the general attitude of the Mahâbhâ*s*ya towards the Shûdras. The passages, where the name of Puspamitra occurs, deserve the serious attention of those who are inclined to attach any importance

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such a distinction is un-tenable. This sort of hair-splitting is not necessary in the ancient sacrificial system to which it is not known 2. Trying to interpret an act of Puspamitra some-how is not a necessity with Patanjali. The schools like Sounâgas and Bhâradvâjiyas were above such attempts. 3. Throughout the Mahâbhâ*s*ya, the exclusion of Shûdras and other castes from sacrifice is thoroughly visible. 4. This spirit of accommodation is against the internal evidence we have produced. 5. This is not the only instance in the Mahâbhâ*s*ya which betrays such a spirit of metaphysical discussion. Patanjali is often over-communicative. 6. If the passage is eliminated, the general system or flow of the Mahâbhâ*s*ya is not affected. It is an interesting interpretation as it is. *Vide* the same (III. 2, 2.), page 76. "Puspamitram yâjayâmah"—Here we cause Puspamitra to sacrifice. The example throws no more light.

1 *Vide* the first Book of the Mahâbhâ*s*ya of Patanjali, the Paspashâhnika (I. 1, 1.), page 15 of the Benares edition. The original words are :—" Kevalam *Ri*si-sampradâyo dharmah."

to them. We have quoted them at length. With due respect to the learned savants like Goldstücker, we humbly state that we consider the passages to be chronologically unimportant, for the Vedic polity was still powerful, and the action of Buddhism had not begun to disintegrate it. A long period intervened between the downfall of the Vedic polity and the revival of Brahmanic polity. The Râja-tarangiṇî refers to an interval of this description. We have quoted the passage from the Râja-tarangiṇi.[1] Nâgârjuna had passed away. The Buddhistic flow of energy had begun to subside, when the text of the Mahâbhâṣya was revised in Kâshmir, and even a new work on grammar was written. When true Kṣatriyas flourished in the different towns of the Âryâvarta, when the Kurus still abounded in Mathurâ, when the Vedic traditions were well-known, and when Vedic aspirations predominated in all the schools, which strenuously taught the pupils—who walked hundreds of miles to profit by instruction in the philosophy and literature developed by the Âchâryas like Pâṇini and Âshvalâyana—that they might be able to perform sacrifices for a lord (a Yajamâna), no Buddhistic Puspamitra, however powerful, and however opulent, would be allowed to perform a sacrifice by the Yâjakas or theologians imbued with the spirit of Âshvalâyana and of Kâtyâyana.

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1 *Vide* the Râjataraṅgiṇî (Taranga I.) shlokas (176-178), Calcutta edition. Chandrâchâryâdibhir labdhâdesham tasmât tadâgamam, pravartitam Mahâbhâṣyam svam cha vyâkaraṇam kṛitam (176), tasminnavasare Bouddhâ deshe prabalatâm . yayuh, nâgârjunena sudhiyâ bodhisatvena pâlitâh (177), te vâdinah parâjitya vâdena nikhilân budhân, kriyâm nîlapurâṇoktâmachchhindannâgamadvish (178).

Puspamitra could legitimately aspire after the wisdom taught by the dissenters like Buddhists.

Vâsavadattâ.

The argument based on the use of the present tense used in the commentary in connection with Puspamitra may be safely passed over now. The distinguished editor of the Vâsavadattâ, as it is published, admits that it is a modern production.[1] Its style, its conceits, and its vocabulary support his statement. The mention of Vâsavadattâ does not affect our conclusion.

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1 *Vide* Fitzerald Hall's edition in connection with Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta. In this connection, his preface deserves attention.

CHAPTER V.

BUDDHISM.

SECTION I.

The period of simple thought and feeling.

Rationalistic tendencies before the times of Buddhism.—Buddha Goutama.—The times of Buddha Goutama and his early life.—The life of Buddha Goutama summed up.—Buddhism and its spread.—The character of Buddha Goutama.—The system of discipline and its basis.—A revolutionary element in the system.—The simplicity of the doctrines of Buddha Goutama.—Buddhistic ethics.—Propagation of Buddhism.—The history of the first period summed up.—The question of the development of the Prâkrit Languages.—An analysis of the Gâthâ literature.

SECTION II.

The period of metaphysical Buddhism.

The times of the Dhammapada.—The times of the Bouddhâchâryas.—A note on the signification of Nirvâna.

SECTION III.

The period of popular Buddhism and its decline.

The third period of Buddhism.—The influence of Buddhism.—the chronology and phases of the Brahmanical revival.

VÂSE*TT*HA BHÂRADVÂJA SU*TT*A.

54. v. "He who knows his former abode, who sees both heaven and hell, who has reached *the extinction of birth*; him indeed do I call a Brâhmana."

63. v. "Vâse*tt*ha, know then, that (in the eye of) those who are wise, he, who is accomplished in the three-fold knowledge, who is appeased, who has extinguished an after-existence, is [not only a Brâhman, but is the very] Brâhm or Indra." * *

KEVA*TT*A SU*TT*A.

"'In [Nirvâna], of which the mind alone can form a proper conception—which is not perceptible to the eye—which is endless—and which, indeed, is in every way glorious, there is neither water, earth, fire, nor air. Here, there is no [such thing as may be called] long, short, small, great, good and evil. Here too, both the nâma and rûpa are wholly extinguished. By the destruction of Viññâna, or consciousness, this (existence) is also [uparujjati] annihilated.'" * * *

DHAMMAPADA.

153—4. "'Through transmigrations of numerous births have I run, not discovering, (though) seeking the house-builder; and birth again and again is an affliction. O house-builder! thou art [now] seen. Thou shalt not again build a house [for me]. All thy rafters are broken. The apex of the house is destroyed. My mind is inclined to Nibban. It has arrived at the extinction of Desire."

CHAPTER V.

BUDDHISM.

THE history of Buddhism is to be divided into three periods. 1st. The period of simple thought and feeling—the period of the propagation of its doctrines. 2nd. The period of metaphysical Buddhism. 3rd. The period of popular Buddhism and its decline.

SECTION I.

THE PERIOD OF SIMPLE THOUGHT AND FEELING.

Buddhistic literature, when examined from philological and metaphysical points of view, discovers the three periods into which we divide the history of Buddhism. The evidence on which this division is based is produced in the sequel.

Rationalistic tendencies before the time of Buddha Goutama.

Tendencies to question the authority of the Vedas were shown long before Buddha Goutama succeeded in organizing opposition to the Vedic

polity, social and religious.[1] 1. Koutsa led the thinkers opposed to the authority of the Vedas. He urged a variety of grounds, and attempted to point out that the Vedas were to no purpose. The opposition of Koutsa was entirely rationalistic. Pâṇini mentions sceptics, fatalists, and atheists. 2. About the time of Patanjali the Âryas considered the Sanskrit language to be eternal and immutable, and openly showed contempt to non-Âryan or current dialects, which had benefited by their contact with the highly cultivated and copious language of the Âryas, and began to assert their claims to attention. 3. A new school of thinkers or exegetes—a school not known to Pâṇini, but attracting special attention at the time of Kâtyâyana and Patanjali—had come into existence. The utterances of these energetic scholars constitute the Âraṇyakas, that is, thought cultivated in forests. Even now, though much venerated, the Âraṇyakas are not repeated in a dwelling house. These two circumstances warrant the conclusion that the Âryan orthodoxy, accustomed to perform sacrifices often lasting for months, did not approve of the non-sacrificial interpretations proposed by the authors of the Âraṇyakas, persecuted them, and compelled them to resort to forests to

[1] In the *Ṛig*-Veda-Sanhitâ, the word *Yati* is once used in the sense of one who condemns sacrifices. His wealth was transferred to Bhṛigu by an Âryan warrior. It is mentioned in the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa that Yatis were thrown before jackals by the Âryas. These Yatis were probably the leaders of the non-Âryas, and hence, were persecuted by the Âryas. A Yati is an important factor in the Buddhistic polity.

cultivate their favourite pursuits, to give vent to their feelings and to cherish their aspirations. When, at present in India, a doctrine of the Âra*n*yakas is explained, special care is taken to exclude those who are not duly initiated. Esoteric principles grew up and prospered, resulted in the Yoga-system of philosophy, and paved the way of Buddhism. Two important consequences ensued: the Vedic sacrifices were gradually neglected, and sometimes openly ridiculed. Very often, they were spiritualized away. Important passages of the Vedas were explained anew as sanctioning the new thought and aspirations of the Âra*n*yakas, which boldly asserted that their doctrines were the best, and ought to supersede all other doctrines; that theirs was *the way*; and that it was open to all castes alike. A Shûdra was initiated because he spoke what was true. A Ksatriya became a teacher, because he boldly thought for himself. Acts of charity and benevolence were commended in the place of regular animal sacrifices like the Agnis*t*oma and Ashvamedha. The Vratas began to supersede Yajnas. The first could be observed by any body. They did not require an array of learned priests versed in manipulating a sacrifice. They did not depend for their success on the possession of wealth. No animal was to be killed. No Soma-juice was to be drunk. Awakened to the sense of Personal Sin, and resolved to destroy *him*, an individual had only to observe a Vrata. This was a great national advance. The class of priests who had the monopoly of sacrificial duties could be dispensed with. The liberty of an individual to act for

himself acquired a new significance. Yet the opposition to the authority of the Vedas, the non-recognition of the Sanskrit language as sacred and immutable, the condemnation of sacrifice, the commendation of individual Vratas, efforts to spiritualize Vedic doctrines and rites, and the emancipation of all classes and castes so far as religious thought and aspirations and social privileges were concerned—all these are the characteristic marks of Buddhism, for which the way was paved, as the considerations, we have urged, show. The nation was prepared when Buddha Goutama began to preach, for his spiritualism was understood and appreciated, and gradually even the Brâhmanas recognized him as a great teacher.

Buddha Goutama.

The life of Buddha Goutama is to be extracted from a work called the Lalita-Vistâra, which abounds with wild exaggeration and which artificially brings together events not likely to occur in the way described for the purpose of mere effect. The whole life is not, however, an allegory. A personage of the name of Buddha Goutama really lived and led the movement which gradually developed into Bouddha-Dharma. Some English writers of eminence assert that the Lalita-Vistâra is an romance, the characters of which are not real ; but they do not categorically mention the grounds of their assertion. If Buddha Goutama be not an historical person, a number of facts such as the monuments built and dedicated to him, the relationship between him and Râhula, Ânanda, and

others, and his descent from Shâkya-parentage cannot be explained. The chronology of Buddha Goutama is ably discussed by Turnour in his exhaustive introduction to the Mahâvanso, and the grounds for the statement that he flourished about 500 B. C. are given. The name of his father is Shuddhodana, and that of his mother is Mâyâdevî. The tribe of the Shâkyas was now in a flourishing condition; but the affinity between it and the well-known Âryan tribes cannot be traced. As the Shâkyas[1] are not mentioned either by the *Risis* and Brahmavâdins, it appears that it was an immigrating tribe which had adopted the institutions of the Âryas and had overtaken them in civilization. Whenever a tribe flourished and proved powerful, it was the custom of the Âryas to recognize it and to assign a status in their own social economy. The history of Nisâdas bears out this statement. The father of Buddha Goutama assumed the name of Shuddhodana, perhaps because he had given up animal food and adopted a vegetarian diet. Mâyâdevî was so called from her beauty. Romantic names are even now common in India. Often are names changed to show a change of life. No inference can be drawn from the nature of mere names, though European philologers dare build important theories on them. The family of Shuddhodana, though prosperous and opulent, was sober and commanded respect from the Shâkyas. The principles of benevolence, truthfulness, purity of conduct

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1 *Vide* note, page 395.

and cosmopolitism, which Buddha Goutama worked up into a system with marvellous success, were instilled into his mind when he was a mere boy. He was the only son of his parents who not unnaturally were exceedingly fond of him. His education was carefully attended to. Versed in the arts of the warrior caste, and brought up under Brâhmanas who had specially cultivated metaphysics, Buddha Goutama early began to propose to himself, and to attempt, the solution of philosophical problems. From the effect produced on the mind of Buddha Goutama, it may be supposed that the Brâhmanas, who instructed him, were free thinkers of the school of Koutsa, or philosophical sceptics, who had a leaning towards the asceticism developed by Patanjali, the author of the Yoga-system. Again, orthodox Brâhmanas, who abstained from a Shrâddha-dinner, and who continually kept up a sacrificial fire in their houses, would not condescend to minister to the religious wants of a Shâkya family or to instruct a Shâkya youth. The education given to Buddha Goutama awakened and *converted* his mind. This is a remarkable, though not an uncommon, phenomenon in the religious history of India. He seriously asked the question to himself:—What is the purpose of the life of man? Born helpless, harassed by feelings of uneasiness and discomfort, exposed to difficulties and dangers, often poor and destitute, often diseased and disabled, often depressed and discouraged, often insulted and irritated, often buoyed up with hopes, and often disappointed in carrying out his designs, always ignorant, and yet always pursuing knowledge, man one day is destined to breathe his

last, to begin once more a career of misery—a condition at once inevitable and undesirable. Buddha Goutama was impressed with this feeling. Though in circumstances of ease and opulence, and a special object of the solicitude of his parents, he became uneasy and dejected. This state of his mind was discovered by his parents who sought to soothe him by diverting his attention. He was married to a beautiful Shâkya lady, the daughter of Dandapâni, and her charms, it was thought, would secularize his feelings and affections. The family apparently enjoyed such happiness as opulence, social influence, and luxury can afford. Kapila-Vastu was a flourishing town. The palace of Shuddhodana, worthy of his position as the prince of Kapila-Vastu, was large and magnificient; but a separate palace, specially adorned with exquisite works of art, and situated in a garden was allotted to Buddha Goutama, who had within easy reach all allurements of a luxurious life. Musicians and dancing girls vied with one another in diverting his mind. Brâhmanas of reputation and sanctity frequented the young prince, and rich gifts were freely conferred upon them. He had a large retinue of servants and followers who delighted in their obedience to, and the pleasure of, Buddha Goutama. Very often, he was induced to walk about in the garden where hares would peep out of a bush, where birds warbled melodiously, and where purling streams meandered in artificial meadows. Chhandaka, the name of the servant whose special business it was to amuse Buddha Goutama, told pleasant stories or indulged in half jocose and half serious talk. Gopâ, whose

charms celestial damsels admired, could be seen in the garden, looking at her lord with fascinating smiles of love, now approaching him to draw his attention to a beautiful flowering plant and now pointing to a fish swimming briskly in a stream. She was accompanied by a retinue of young maids, who suggested to her how to address young Goutama, whose melancholy and ascetic proclivities could be discovered as he walked alone with a careless gait and downcast eyes—a circumstance which produced in his devoted spouse feelings of anxiety. Water was sprinkled on the path-ways, and flowers, strewed. Caparisoned horses were paraded. Elephants and chariots were ready, whenever they were required. So far as comforts of this life are concerned, nothing was wanting: a pastime succeeded a pastime. The monotony of life was broken by a delightful conversation of young ladies or by a besotted elephant combating with his rival. Yet Buddha Goutama never smiled or enjoyed what he saw. He often heaved a sigh. The mind that sought the solution of transcendental problems of human destiny, was reflected in the features which glowed with the light which heavenly aspirations and contempt of the world can shed. He looked up towards the heavens and stood absorbed in meditation. When awakened from his trance, he confoundedly looked at the trees. Gopâ spoke to him about the pleasure the garden could afford. "My dear" said she, "see how nicely the birds sing! How beautifully the plants sparkle, bathed in the soft delicious twilight. But thy voice is sweeter than that of these pretty birds. Thy countenance sheds a light which brightens and

bewitches my mind. Let us walk together under this bower and see how the sun sets." He cast a glance at her; but it was the glance of an ascetic whose affection was universal and whose appetites were subdued. He then observed:—"Oh! how transient is life? To what ills it is heir! A hawk may prey on these pretty birds before the next day breaks: these plants may wither; my voice is sweet, because I am youthful, but youth is fleeting. All our pleasures have a sting in them. Oh! even the sun, that appears so glorious before it sets, is liable to destruction." Gopâ felt uneasy: her sensitive mind was moved: the feeling that doubts the stability of the world was touched: she burst into tears and sought to throw herself into the arms of young Goutama. Her maids helped her. Goutama stood an image of serenity and moralized on life. The time of the night-fall approached. The anxious parents had placed sentinels round the palace of Buddha Goutama and had taken precautions that their beloved son might not walk out, and, alone and unaided, betake himself to mountain-fastnesses to reflect on the miseries of this life and to contrive the means of escaping them. They were alarmed; their mind often misgave them as to his plans, and their apprehensions did not prove groundless. At midnight, Goutama fled from his palace, alone and helpless, but with a mind resolute and brave. He vowed as he cast a parting glance at the palace:—"I will not return to these pleasures. I will solve the problems of the destiny of man. Free from birth and free from death, I will realize eternal beatitude." He had not walked some miles before he discovered a venerated

ascetic, surrounded by his numerous disciples, and engaged in a philosophical conversation.

The times of Buddha Goutama and his early life.

We have already dwelt upon asceticism as it existed at the time of Pâṇini, and referred to the antagonism between ascetics and Brâhmaṇas. The principles of asceticism were further developed and its modes and forms were fixed at the time of Buddha Goutama. The country in the lower Gangetic valley about Behar abounded with ascetics: they wore yellow robes: their heads were entirely shaved: their bodies were generally emaciated by the practice of strange austerities: they had totally given up worldly life: they lived at a distance from towns or villages: and they were respected by the people who visited them and made presents of food and clothes. The forms of austerities were hard and various. From morning to evening, and from day to day, trying penances were performed, much to the vexation of the spirit, yet they earnestly sought to practise contemplation and to realize beatitude. The power of the senses being subdued, and the externalization of the soul through the mind being checked, and gradually annihilated, the soul is concentrated upon itself. Then it realizes a peace and a beatitude which are the legitimate objects to be sought in this life. Buddha Goutama boldly asserted that he had found peace and beatitude. The names of some ascetics who had gathered disciples about them are preserved. The disciples thus gathered constituted a Sangha or an assembly. The Sangha in the sense of the *vulgus* is mentioned

by Pâṇini. Such an ascetic was Ârâḍa Kâlâpa, whom Goutama saw after he had fled from his palace. The name Ârâḍa Kâlâpa does not seem to be Âryan. The antecedents of Ârâḍa, who imparted first lessons to Buddha Goutama are not preserved. Converted by the sight of an ascetic when he was in his own palace, and strengthened in his desire of asceticism by Ârâḍa, who paid great compliments to his intellectual powers and moral qualities, Buddha Goutama stayed with his first preceptor for some time, and the preceptor exerted upon him an influence fraught with mighty consequences to India. From the position of a mere pupil, Buddha Goutama rose to the position of his colleague. Ârâḍa Kâlâpa associated with his pupil on terms of equality. Buddha Goutama met with another ascetic of reputation. He was also followed by a number of disciples. He was a son of Râma and was named Rudraka. Buddha, who had made sufficient progress in the knowledge of Samâdhi, soon discovered that the pretensions of Rudraka were hollow; that he had not realized what he taught; that he had not studied under any distinguished teacher; that he was vainglorious; and that his mind was worldly. But Goutama adroitly managed to associate with him for some days and to depart without displeasing him. Some of the disciples of Rudraka followed Buddha Goutama. From such stories, seriously narrated in the romance called the Lalita Vistâra, it may be safely inferred that Buddha Goutama did not invent the forms of contemplation or the modes of austerities; that the dress, the daily life, and manners of ascetics had been fixed before him;

and that the people had learnt to admire and revere them. The influence of these ascetics upon the life of Goutama was great. He journeyed from place to place, practising austerities, now as lean as a reed, now hardly able to breathe, now fixed to a spot so that the shepherds of the place took him for a heap of earth, and now standing in the hot sun till he could not continue. Quiet, serious, full of faith, courageous, resolute, and easily remembering what he saw or heard, Buddha Goutama tortured the flesh, that the spirit might be illumined, and that not distracted by external objects, it might experience the beatitude which contemplation produces. Buddha Goutama states that his efforts were crowned with success. Doubtless they were eminently successful, for he communicated an impulse to national thought and aspirations, and re-cast all social and religious institutions.

The life of Buddha Goutama summed up.

The life of a religious reformer does not generally abound in events. Yet in the case of Buddha Goutama, a political event facilitated his operations. His mind being fortified against evil temptations, he began to preach. His eloquence gathered about him many disciples, and the new doctrine somehow attracted the attention of Ajâtashatru, son of Bimbisâra, king of Pâṭaliputra. Devadatta, an ambitious Brâhmaṇa, also exercised a great influence on the mind of the young prince, and even took a part in his plans of self-aggrandizement. At this time, Bimbisâra, the sovereign of Pâṭaliputra and

father of Ajâtashatru, either died a natural death or was killed. The prince, a convert to Buddhism, ascended the throne. Devadatta's influence declined. He either disappeared or was dispatched. The influence of Buddha Goutama under these circumstances gradually increased. His disciples in Behar, Gayâ, and Benares, acquired a recognized position in society, and the Gangetic valley was stirred up, and a great religious upheaval began to be felt. Hundreds, including Brâhmaṇas and respectable house-holders of other castes, hastened to monasteries which had adopted the doctrines of Buddha Goutama, whose prosperity excited the jealousy of teachers whose reputation gradually began to wane. The Tîrthankaras or friars, like the Pharisees among the Jews, who sought the pleasures of the world and whose influence was based on false pretensions to sanctity and knowledge, were specially enraged. When self-interest is affected, the worst human passions come into play. An attempt on the life of Buddha Goutama was made, and its failure strengthened his position, advanced the interests of his church, and resulted in the extinction of all external opposition. The cunning have recourse to religion and pretend to be above the world, when they desire most to advance their worldly interests. Ajâtashatru, whose conduct towards his father was unjustifiable, and whom the people naturally disliked, grew in his attachment to Buddha Goutama. His devotion to the course of the new religion atoned for his political sins. Ajâtashatru increased his power and enlarged his empire. His political aggrandizement contributed to the stability of the church esta-

blished by Buddha Goutama. But though all opposition from without was thus overcome, yet Buddha Goutama did not pass the rest of his life in peace. Two disciples, who had participated in his trials and comforts, suddenly died. Dissensions became imminent in his church itself. Complicated questions as to the admission of women into a monastery, and puerile bickerings on points of mere discipline, at one time threatened to unnerve him. Women were permitted to be nuns, and the bickerings of his followers were silenced by adopting conciliatory measures. The Church or Sangha had been formed: its doctrines had been consolidated: the feelings of devotion and attachment to the Church had been developed: political influence had been secured: the three great principalities on the banks of the Ganges had been leavened by the feeling that the world was full of misery, and that a great teacher had proclaimed a plan of deliverance: the Brâhmaṇas and friars, the mendicants and teachers, had been either silenced or cowed into submission. The prestige of Buddha Goutama had been established and the short sayings uttered by him had been constantly quoted. Shlokas composed in all metres and glorifying particular acts of the enlightened teacher were constantly sung: the intellect of the national leaders in the Gangetic valley was awakened: and their feelings were touched by the new doctrines. From village to town, every where monasteries and monks could be seen, delighting in the recital of the sayings of Buddha, composing short poems to exalt his virtues, preaching to the masses about the excel-

lence of his doctrines, calling upon them to reflect on the miseries of the world, and declaring to them that a method for their deliverance was propounded by Buddha Goutama. After such important results had been achieved, surfeited with delicious pork, Buddha Goutama died. The cause of his death is unworthy of his life. The event created an extraordinary sensation throughout the Gangetic valley. At last, his followers whether princes or peasants were reconciled to their fate: the feeling of bereavement was soothed, and the relics of the dead soon began to be more venerated than the living teacher himself.

Buddhisim and its spread.

The rapid spread of Buddhism and the development of its resources and its establishment, even in the life-time of its originator, are facts partly to be explained by the extraordinary character of Buddha Goutama, partly by the nature of the system of discipline he introduced, and partly by the simplicity and adaptability of the doctrines he preached.

The character of Buddha Goutama.

Buddha Goutama struggled strenuously against the influence of the flesh. He made constant efforts to overcome its pains. He felt that Mâra or Satan was always opposed to him. Avarice, ambition, desire of applause, anger, lust, and envy constituted the army of Mâra which often laid a siege to his mind and tried as often to take it by storm; but his mind never surrendered, as its serenity and

peace could not be overcome. This is the most important trait in his character. The whole system of Buddhism is, in one sense, built on the idea of such a struggle. Descended from royal parentage, and having voluntarily adopted the life of a monk, he inspired respect and produced the feeling of gravity and seriousness in those who saw him. He was beautiful and his features commanded obedience, a circumstance apparently so accidental, was an essential element in his success, for it attracted the attention of his audience and enhanced the effect of what he said. His voice was sweet, and his manners were endearing and conciliatory. His magnanimity, his generosity, his humanity and benevolence have passed into a proverb. Never ruffled, his mind never lost its balance. Never mastered by the temptations of the world, his heart overflowed with complacent joy and parental affection. He never discussed with any body. He simply taught. He never definitely stated a metaphysical proposition. He conciliated Brâhmanas by indefinitely recognizing their gods and goddesses, their systems of Heavens and Hells. He secured the attachment of his followers by engaging in war against the legions of Mâra or Satan. He never spoke violently against caste, but constantly stated that devotion to truth, piety, and the abdication of the world, deserved more attention than mere mechanical rules of social life and conduct. He modified the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul already developed during the time of the Âchâryas, and declared that those who should overcome Mâra, the evil spirit, in this special life, would make continuous progress in righteousness,

and could one day attain to Buddha-hood itself, with power over Heaven and Hell, over gods and over the universe. The recognition of the doctrine of metempsychosis[1] conciliated the philosophical Brâhmaṇa, who had cultivated the principles of the Âraṇyaka-literature. Its modification satisfied his followers in whom it produced new aspirations. His patience was so great that he allowed whatever he said to take root, and develop itself. His moral courage was great, for he gave up the luxuries of a royal palace, and entered on a life of painful asceticism. His faith was extraordinary inasmuch as he boldly stated that he was Buddha, or one *enlightened* and *saved*, and that he delighted in saving mankind. His intellect was powerful, for he elaborated a system of discipline and principles of conduct which strengthened the will and softened the heart of his followers. His will was unbending, for he never retracted a statement or yielded to any opposition. The character of Buddha Goutama was such that his influence in the course of a few centuries penetrated the whole of Asia and indirectly acted on the European nations.

His system of discipline and its basis.

The whole society was divided into two sections: the laity and the monks. The former was considered as the mere audience to be addressed: the latter instructed it, both by example and precept. Buddha Goutama took special care of

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[1] *Vide* the Pâṇinîyam (V. 2, 92.).

the monks—the instruments of instruction. The monks had to give up the world and to enter a monastery, where pure principles of individual and social morality and spirituality were strictly enforced. Self-abnegation constituted the essence of Buddhistic discipline. An appeal was constantly made to their heart, the evil tendencies of which were graphically pointed out. To overcome the evil spirit is the most arduous task conceivable. The monks felt that they had to wage a war of infinite duration with themselves; that their enemies were at once powerful and insidious; that every moment of their life, the evil spirit sought to distract their attention and to ruin them in a variety of forms and with a variety of allurements; and that yet it was their duty to overcome their enemy. This feeling was so strongly impressed, that for the first time in Indian literature whether Vedic, Buddhistic, or Brahmanic, a romance was written—a romance which personifies the evil spirit, which describes his army, his modes of warfare, his military officers, and his strong-holds, which illustrates and embellishes its parts with the delineation of well-known human characters, and which produces a vivid impression of the power of Mâra or Satan, and war with him on the minds of the audience. He who should overcome evil by his individual prowess could be emancipated from the sorrow of births and deaths in an unceasing rotation of existence. The monks to whom such romances were read and explained, heaved deep sighs and uttered audibly:—"Ah! Mâra, thou condemned spirit! How happy are

those who are free from attachment to the flesh![1]" The day and a portion of the night was spent either in meditation and in listening to Gâthâs on the subjects read and explained. Those who had made some progress in knowledge, and who had at least partially overcome Mâra, composed Gâthâs, singing of their partial triumph and exhibiting Mâra as the worst enemy of mankind. Impressed with the strong sense of the internal struggle between the good and evil spirits, and inspired with the hope of ultimate success in the struggle—when the Gâthâs were read and explained—monks embraced monks, shedding tears of joy and hope, and congratulating one another on having come to know the way of deliverance. The hymn of joy[2] was simultaneously read by all the monks whose aspirations it embodied. Accustomed to deny themselves every thing savouring of least pleasure and comfort, and determined to accomplish the chief object of existence—to be above the influence of the flesh—the monks were easily satisfied with any kind of simple vegetable food in any quantity and did not care for clothing. Some lay on the bare ground at night for repose, others passed a restless night. Some dreamed that in the unguarded moments of sleep Mâra attacked them, and were awakened, full of agitation. The recital of such dreams often created a profound sensation in a monastery. Thus trained, the monks issued forth from a monastery with bowls

[1] The motto of monks in Jain monasteries is :—Vîtarâgâh niranjanâh."

[2] Bana or rather Bhana.

in their hands, with their features serious and lips muttering some Gâthâ, and boldly asked the people to see the means of deliverance propounded by Buddha Goutama. They made a strong impression on the populace as they serenely passed through a street. Stories of the holy life—the monks and nuns lived in the recesses of a monastery—of their difficulties and trials, and of their self-denial, were circulated freely in towns and villages. The people believed them, exaggerated them, and multiplied them. The laity was thus acted upon from without. The monks did not interfere with them in any way. The oceanic current of society flowed on as usual, undisturbed by any agitation. The old gods were worshipped: the established rites and ceremonies were performed: the recognized priests officiated: the social customs were quietly followed, and social institutions were worked as usual. But influences, likely in the long run to check the flow of the current, had begun to operate silently and unseen. Deliverance from the sorrows of births and deaths in innumerable existences was the one thing needed, and this deliverance the established order of things could not cause. Thus the influence of the monks increased. The populace—to whose actual experience in this life, constant appeals were eloquently and powerfully made—was moved. A storm gathered and burst.

The revolutionary element in the system.

Up to the time of Buddha Goutama, Brâhmanas alone had taught other castes, and superintended

their sacrifices. Their pretensions were well-founded, for they alone knew the complex art of sacrificial manipulation. They justly considered that the many-sided literature and philosophy developed by the Âchâryas were their legitimate and exclusive heritage. Education and instruction were their exclusive privileges sanctioned by the mighty Vedas and sanctified by usage. They deserved the prestige they commanded, for the great schools of the Âchârya-period had given them special advantages over other castes. To act against these hereditary teachers, to equal them in intellectuality, and the power which results from it, to obtain respect from the populace which considered learned Brâhmanas to be their champions, who defended the established doctrines, to master the difficult grammatical and philosophical problems, to employ promptly and effectively exegetical logic, to be well-versed in the Sûtras of Âshvalâyana or Boudhâyana, and to cope with the Brâhmanas in well-regulated discussions,—these were the conditions which none but the Brâhmanas could fulfil. Hence those, who were opposed to the Brâhmanas, and who condemned them, always despaired of success, and practised asceticism. A choice was always to be made between subjection to the arrogance and tyranny of Brâhmanas, or abdication of the world and its pleasures. The ascetics lived as they liked. We have already shown that the Brâhmanas ridiculed them, that Koupîna, their characteristic costume, had come to mean *sin*, and that antagonism between Brâhmanas and Shramanas (ascetics) had been so well established as to be considered natural and inherent. Buddha Goutama knew

all this and was conscious of the difficulties under which he had to work. He was the leader of the Shramanas of his period, for hundreds of them flocked to him. His large mind elaborated a system which removed all the difficulties and met all the conditions. The existing institution of monasteries was utilized and developed: a system of special instruction was devised. The monks, isolated from society at large, constituted a body by themselves. All castes were freely admitted into a monastery. Carefully trained in the methods and principles of contemplation, thoroughly impressed with the sense of the inner struggle between good and evil spirits, conscious of the power they possessed over the evil one, faithfully looking forward into eternity when their final emancipation from all sorrows would be accomplished, inured to a hard life of austerities, above the flesh and the evil temptations of the world, taught to look upon the foibles of the worldly with feelings of complacent charity—foibles which were the inevitable result of the actions which they had committed in a series of former lives and the accumulated effect of which none could escape—moved with pity which springs from the deepest recesses of the human heart, which actively seeks to relieve the afflicted, and which nullifies all selfishness, and possessed of that humility which the constant sense of humiliation fosters—a sense which their failures in the inner struggle almost every moment of their lives intensified—the monks consisting of all castes were well-qualified to undermine the power of the the Brâhmanas, silently and without provoking opposition. The Brâhmana spoke of his books

and of his learning: the Shramana spoke of his daily experiences; the Brâhmana quoted books and sought to apply the rules of exegetical logic: the Shramana spoke feelingly of the actual condition of humanity and made touching appeals to the feelings of the people; the Brâhmana showed his intellectual powers: the Shramana impressed the populace with his charity and universal love. In process of time, the Shramana became powerful and supplanted the Brâhmana.

The simplicity of the doctrines of Buddha Goutama.

The doctrines, which the Bouddhas taught, were simple and easy of apprehension. They were based on a system of psychology. The dogma of metempsychosis was recognized and formed a constituent of Buddhistic faith. Mr. Wheeler in his History of India lays great stress upon it and observes that it characterizes Buddhism and distinguishes it from the Vedic polity which he calls *Brahmanism*. The dogma of metempsychosis was in one sense known from the earliest times. There are glimpses in the Brâhmanas. Yâska mentions it. The Yoga-system is built upon it. The atheists of the Âchârya-period believed in it. The Mîmânsâ-system sanctions it. It is considered to be the effect of activity of which all Indian writers, thinkers and preachers complain. Buddhism proposed a remedy for deliverance from it, as the Yoga-system had done before. The former mentions the Universal and Supreme Spirit with which the individual spirit is identified after its deliverance. Buddha himself attained to such

qualities of the Supreme Spirit as omniscience. The dogma cannot, therefore, be the distinctive feature of Buddhism, nor can it be the cause of its rapid propagation. Mr. Wheeler's remarks on these points are, however, ingenious. The existence of excessive evil in the world was a matter of daily experience. All thinkers of the Âchârya-period started from this point. The first question that was naturally asked was:—What is the evil that afflicts mankind. The answer was simple:—"ignorance. Its essential concomitants were the conditions of sentient existence. The essential concomitant of this is personal or individual consciousness. The essential concomitants of this are a name and a form. The essential concomitant of these is the group of six organs, their essential concomitant is the sense of contact which comprises all the five senses such as hearing and seeing and the mind. The essential concomitant of the sense of contact is sensation, the essential concomitant of which is desire which invariably makes man cling to existence. The essential concomitant of clinging to life is actual existence (in an increasing rotation of births and deaths). The essential concomitant of existence is birth, the essential concomitants of which are old age, death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, melancholy, despair. Thus the whole class of pure excessive miseries exists." This passage shows directly that metempsychosis was considered the inevitable evil proceeding from ignorance—an evil which afflicts all men equally whether peasants or princes, and from which all men are bound to seek deliverance. Deliverance consisted in overcoming the *ignorance*. Two terms in this connection are

important and deserve explanation:—Karma and Upâdâna. The first is *action* including whatever a sentient being does, says, thinks or feels. All actions performed are essentially inseparable from their result. The two are considered to be distinct principles. The one is passive, and the other is active. Hence an action of every description is undesirable as being in the way of the beatific quietude in which deliverance consists. This is the key to the proper apprehension and the correct appreciation of Buddhism. These doctrines, though they appear abstruse and transcendental in their English garb, are yet simple and easy of apprehension. The Sanskrit words which express the doctrines are easily understood. The connection between the different causes and effects is easily remembered. Belief in their logical sequence, their validity and reality, is early impressed on the pliant mind of youths. Mental habits are stronger and more stubborn than mere bodily habits. Habit is second nature; and what is natural is always relished. A Buddhist felt spiritually elated, as he read about Karma and its influence, about Upâdâna and its activities. His feelings being touched, he sighed and sobbed. We have seen modern Vedântists sighing and sobbing on a similar occasion when the doctrine of Upâdâna is explained. The religious practices of a Buddhist were extremely simple. Contemplation and its modes and forms constitute their essence. Four modes are described—the one gradually preparing a Buddhist for another. Abstraction of the soul from its objects and subjects is the special means of contemplation. The first mode is:—the

soul is called off from external objects and concentrated on thoughts generating beatific love. The second mode is:—all thought is dropped—Love resulting from contemplation itself is contemplated. The third mode is:—even Love is dropped. Self-consciousness delighting in happiness is realized. The fourth mode is:—every thing bodily and mental, external and internal, is totally discarded, and what is entirely free from any reminiscence or knowledge of pleasure or pain is contemplated. These practices illustrate the daily life of the monks of a monastery.

Buddhistic ethics.

The Buddhistic ethics originated in the sense of the internal struggle and were embodied in Buddha Goutama—the grand ideal the Buddhists always set before themselves, for Buddha Goutama fulfilled all the necessary conditions of spirituality and was considered as the highest of gods. Hence it is of special importance to examine the ideal itself. "This is that lord of the Shâkyas, who has come to the bottom of the best of trees and who is worshipped: he who has purified his mind by means of his shunning sin, of wise fortitude, compassion, good will and charity; who has purified his speech by penances and austerities, by truth and by righteousness, and who has purified his body by good conduct and intentions." This is the literal translation of an interesting passage in the Lalita Vistâra. The best of trees is probably the celebrated Bo-tree. Buddha Goutama approached the tree after he had subdued Mâra. While he

was worshipped by his disciples, the poetical passage, we have translated, was recited. Cleanliness, truthful speech, and benevolence of mind are particularly insisted upon. Such qualities, as abhorrence of sin, wise fortitude, resignation, compassion, good-will and charity, abstinence, self-denial, and that restraint, which penances and austerities necessitate, truth, righteousness, good conduct, and good intentions, arising from the consciousness of righteousness—these qualities and the means for securing them cannot but constitute an exemplary code of morals.

Propagation of Buddhism: the history of the first period summed up.

The spread of the doctrines of Buddha Goutama was rapid. But immediately after the death of the great teacher,—the moving spirit that inspired and ruled the monks,—confusion ensued. In every monastery, the monks began to disagree among themselves. All the monasteries in the Gangetic valley were not now inspired by the same spirit which was once produced by devotion to the same teacher. Hence Ajâtashatru, king of Magadha, held a council of the leading monks from the different important monasteries and attempted a statement of Buddhistic doctrines. It is true that the statement could not be systematic. All the different points of discipline could not be defined. All the principles for regulating the conduct of the monks could not be fixed. The first council, however, proved of special use and importance to the cause of Buddhism, the power and influence of which it

discovered and published, because many monasteries —teeming with pious monks, possessed of high intellectuality, and devoted to the cause of their faith—were represented. Ajâtashatru felt the power of the council: the laity in the ex-Gangetic valley was impressed with respect for Buddhism. Many vacillating monks and sceptical lay-men were confirmed in their devotion to the cause of the Enlightened Teacher. Thus the council materially aided Buddhism. Again, the first council solved a great difficulty. Whenever any serious differences among the Buddhists arose, a convocation of monks was called to settle them. The kings of Magadha continued to take an interest in the religion they had embraced. The absence of any authentic history of the times renders it hard to distinguish Kâlâshoka from Ashoka, who is identified with Priyadarshin who called the second council in the middle of the third century, B. C. The first period of Buddhism now terminated, for the great mass of the people had almost adopted the Buddhistic mode of thought and feeling; the monks were admired and treated with respect: the monasteries had begun to exercise a decided influence: small princes had been converted. The leading officers of Government had become disciples of Goutama Buddha. The leading residents of towns and merchants followed the officers. The court of a prince like Ashoka consisted of ministers who delighted in the prosperity of Buddhism. At this time non-conformity to the Buddhistic faith could not be tolerated, for it could be defined. When non-conformity can be defined, and measures for its repression can be taken, the power of a religion is thoroughly established. Its spirituality has culmi-

nated; its material prosperity alone dazzles the populace: the age of simple thought and earnest feeling is gone. The child-like monks, who preached and sobbed, had disappeared, and sedate Âchâryas, who could boast of a large income, paraded their intellectuality and piety before the people. These statements are based on those edicts of Ashoka, the summary of which is here presented. From a literary point of view, the age of the Lalita Vistâra was succeeded by the age of the Dhamma-pada. The first edict rules against the use of animal food, and thus deals a heavy blow against the sacrificial system of the Vedic polity. The second shows the extent of the country under the influence of Buddhistic missionaries, and the spirit of benevolence towards men who are mentioned with lower animals. The third edict enforces some virtues. The Dhamma (religion) was defined and systematized. The Dhamma-pada (the path of religion) had been promulgated. The fourth edict discovers that pageants of processions and pyro-technics were resorted to for impressing rules of Buddhistic good conduct on the people, and inculcating abhorrence of killing animals. Obedience is exacted by means of royal power which employed coercion—an unworthy substitute for persuasion enforced by self-abnegation, and the exemplary conduct of the monks. The system of Vedic sacrifices and the slaughter of animals is put down by force. The Vedic polity thus ceased to be recognized. Grand processions of elephants and gorgeous equipages were now substituted for the quiet processions of devout monks who had abdicated the world and its pleasures. The power of mere wealth thus triumphed over the power of

spirituality. The fifth edict adopts coercive measures for enforcing conformity, ministers of morals being appointed to superintend and regulate the conduct of the people. Informers are mentioned. State patronage and interference cannot but subordinate spiritual power, based on the virtues of the devout, to the authority of the State, opulent and ambitious bishops taking the place of those whose power springs from self-denial and spirituality. The sixth edict confers additional power on the ministers of morals, defining their jurisdiction and declaring non-conformity to be penal, and conformity to be worthy of rewards. The seventh edict confirms the rules of morality promulgated from time to time, and calls special attention to infidelity in its various forms and seeks to regulate it. The eighth edict institutes religious festivals and orders the bestowal of gifts on Brâhmaṇas and Shramaṇas, the first being no longer a sacrificer and a follower of the Vedic polity. His antagonism to Shramaṇas, which Patanjali considers to be inherent, is not now known. He was a Buddhist so far as the rules of conformity required. The remaining six edicts inculcate Buddhistic virtues, identical with those enunciated in the Dhamma-pada, so far as they are mentioned. Elated with power and the sense of triumph, the officers of morality employed coercion indiscriminately. Hence some edicts seek to moderate their oppressive measures.

The question of the development of the Prâkrit languages.

The present enables us to interpret and understand the past. The development of social pheno-

mena in modern times and their explanation can throw considerable light on ancient social phenomena, and determine their explanation. The case of the Marathi language in its three relations—as used by Brâhmaṇas in towns, as used by wild aboriginal mountain tribes, and as used by Brâhmaṇas who accompanied Vyankoji Bhosla in his expedition into the Tamil country on the banks of the Câverî—and the case of the English language as it is spoken by camp-followers—are important in this connection. The Brâhmaṇas in towns speak pure Marathi, and pride themselves on their superiority in this respect. But the Brâhmaṇas in villages speak the mixed and inferior Marâthî of the ignorant villagers. Yet the villagers, naturally cheerful and spirited, possess a kind of literature. The women sing, when they grind corn early in the morning, when they sow or reap in their fields, when they carry baskets of fruits or corn from one place to another, when they amuse themselves on the banks of their village stream, or when they wash their clothes or worship their gods. Boys, as they tend their cattle, sing in wild strains. Men sing, while they labour in their fields and in the evening always gather and form small circles, where, while the pipe goes round quietly, they sing either in praise of their gods or of a distinguished hero. Amorous ditties are common, and are always on the lips of young men. This side of the life of villagers is interesting. The songs are, in many cases, pieces handed down from father to son for generations. In every generation there is always a village genius, which recasts old songs or composes a new one. The

Marâthâs in the Tamil country, though they cling to Marathi, their hereditary tongue, with great tenacity, have learnt to use many Tamil words. Their Marathi is different from that of the natives of Mahârâshtra. This illustrates the bearing of the language of the conquered on the established and developed language of the conquerors who have settled in the land of conquest. Tamil is to Marathi what English is to Arabic. English is not as yet adopted by the natives of India. Perhaps it may never exercise any influence. The contact of Englishmen with natives is not close. Proud of their purity, and perhaps disgusted with the insolence of conquerors, the subject-races keep aloof from the Europeans as much as they can. Yet where contact is close, English is easily learnt. The uneducated show special aptitude for learning a foreign language without great pains. The British sailor, naturally jolly and social, freely mixes with his equals among the natives when he lands on the shore. The brother-Jack speaks with him in English. The native, and English sailors hug each other, drink together, and stroll about a sea-port town. Thus the language of the foreigner is easily learnt. On the Nilgiree hills native milk-maids are seen speaking English with Englishmen. The negroes of America have adopted the religion, the institutions, and manners of the European colonists. The Blacks and Whites, forming one body politic, is an interesting and important phenomenon. From these facts developing in modern times, two conclusions may be drawn, that the language of the conquerors who settle in the land of conquest is easily adopted

by the conquered, when the latter are decidedly inferior in every respect to the former, and that there are always two social currents, the one of the civilized residents of towns and the other of unpolished and rough villagers. These conclusions may enable us to understand the social condition of ancient India. The contact of the Âryas with the ancient non-Âryas was close and permanent, for the Âryas settled permanently in the land. Âryan children could not but play with those of the non-Âryas. The non-Âryan maids served Âryan ladies. The non-Aryas assisted an Âryan landlord. The ancient Âryas do not speak of the language or literature of the non-Âryas for there could be no developed non-Âryan communities. The principle of living in political union, based on the use of one language, is a growth of modern times. The idea of one nationality was based on the identity of religious institutions, and practices in ancient times. In the hymns of the Ṛik-Sanhitâ, separate non-Âryan towns are mentioned. But a combination of the non-Âryas is not even indistinctly alluded to. The tribes of barbarians, isolated and at war with one another, were easily overcome. About the time, when the Âryas had completely established themselves in the land of conquest, the social status of the non-Âryas was legally declared. He was a slave whose only duty was to serve his Âryan masters. The Nisâda resisted and ambitiously sought equality. Tha Shûdra succumbed. The language of the Âryan lords was necessarily used on all occasions

of life. The Shûdras learnt it sufficiently to be able to understand their lords. Gradually in all Âryan settlements, two social systems were developed.—Âryan and non-Âryan. But in the earliest times, the irrepressibility of the latter may be observed. They assumed Âryan names. Thus Kavasha Ailusha—mentioned in the Aitareya Brâhmana—is not the same as the author of a hymn in the Rik-Sanhitâ. The fact—that a non-Ârya was determined to take a part in an Âryan sacrifice—discovers his anxiety to adopt Âryan feelings and modes of thought. He did not relish the taunts of the Âryas that he was non-sacrificing. The re-action among the non-Âryan races must have been great. Perhaps they attempted to imitate their conquerors in everything. And as the Âryas at the time of the Risis specially delighted in music on all occasions of life, the non-Âryas naturally energetic and vivacious, also sang and attempted to join the Âryas in a sacrifice. A genius like Kavasha Ailusha, perhaps insulted by the Âryan conquerors and reminded of his inferiority, rebelled against the Âryas and forced them to recognize his pretentions, for Kavasha Ailusha was not an ordinary Shûdra. The contact gradually became so close that an unwarranted relation between Âryan ladies and Shûdras can be noticed. Sometimes, an Âryan youthful lady loved an intelligent Shûdra. Sometimes, a young Shûdra girl lived with an Âryan youth. The contact thus became closer. But gradually it was sanctioned that Shûdra-girls might be married by the Vaishyas, a class of

Âryas more devoted to peaceful arts of life than to politics or religion. Marriage-ties helped the social progress and advancement of the Shûdras. A girl married by a Vaishya must needs speak the language of the Âryas. When old enough, her daughter might be married by a Ksatriya. Thus, when the Âryas had completely settled in the country, when the non-Âryas were thoroughly subdued, and when the Âryas began to boast of their glory and to assert their superiority,—the non-Âryas had learnt to sing their own Gâthâs. The non-Âryas had their hopes and fears, their pleasures and pains, their sorrows and their joys, their periods of elation and of depression. They must needs express their feelings, for it is impossible for man to be reticent when his feelings are excited. Unfortunately these ancient non-Âryan Gâthâs are not preserved, or the cause of the history of the relation between Âryas and non-Âryas, or between haughty conquerors and mild subject-races would have been materially helped. The *Ri*sis sang Gâthâs and most probably danced. The non-Âryas learnt to sing Gâthâs and to dance. The two social currents flowed side by side. At the time of the Brahmavâdins, the Shûdra was prevented only from milking sacrificial cows. Hence he had been so far admitted into an Âryan household. The Brahmavâdins sang their sacrificial Gâthâs. Excluded from sacrifices, the non-Âryas sang their Gâthâs against the spirit of sacrifice, for the process of action and re-action continued. It was the determination of the Âryas

to prevent the non-Âryas from adopting their institutions and asserting equality, and it was ever the ambition of the non-Âryas to vie with the Âryas. Though very often the non-Âryas were forcibly put down, yet they worked, and yet they hoped. They were perhaps cheered by some non-Âryan genius, who sang charming strains, and soothed their minds. The non-Âryas continued to sing their wild ditties and to enjoy life. The Âryanized Non-Âryas who were persecuted out of towns, and who had to resort to forests, sympathised with the genuine non-Âryas in-as-much as they recognised their claims to spiritual knowledge and to social equality. But Pâṇini does not even accidentally allude to a Prâkrit dialect. Patanjali refers to it.[1] When Buddhism was established, and when kings courted the monks, and sought their blessings, the Prâkrits triumphed over the Sanskrit language: the non-Âryas triumphed over the Âryas. A new impulse was communicated to the cultivation of a Prâkrit or a vernacular dialect. But an exclusive and proud Ârya, opposed to the movement, still clang to his Sanskrit. Though vexed with himself, sullen, uneasy, ignored and neglected, he sought relief in his closet and awaited his turn. Whenever he could get an opportunity of asserting his superiority, he boldly came

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1 *Vide* the Mahâbhâṣya of Patanjali, Benares edition, (I. 1, 1.), page 6. Patanjali's remarks give grounds to state that about his time, the Sanskrit language—the language spoken by the Âryas—had begun to pass into a sort of a Prakrit or current language. He notices changes, and states that they are too many. Pâṇini states different usages. Patanjali does not seek to make any rules about them. They are too many to be brought under definite rules.

forward. The non-Âryas, on the contrary, emboldened by success, upheld their own rights. For some time, the important social question was—what was the status of a Prâkrit dialect. The discussion excited much interest. A similar issue was once raised between Protestants and Catholics in Europe.

An analysis of the Gâthâ-literature.

When Buddha Goutama flourished, it was the period of a revival of poetry. Four kinds of poets are mentioned in Buddhistic literature:—the poets of imagination or invention, of tradition, that is, those who versify traditional stories, the poets of real life, that is, those who seek to paint life as it is, and scalds or bards. Such a variety of poetry and its diction was not a growth of a few years. Generations of poets sang and passed away. Poetry, to be able to excite the popular mind, ought to express adequately the aspirations, feelings, and thoughts of a nation, as they have been formed in the course of generations. The poetry of a country exactly represents the predominance of a particular feeling as expressed by social, religious or political conditions: it is Pantheistic, when a whole nation is under the influence of Pantheism: it is practical and seeks to depict nature as it is, when a nation cultivates the *practical* as distinguished from the *metaphysical*. The language of poetry is not artificial, as formed by the whims or necessities of an individual writer. It is the genuine language of feeling, which is readily understood, and the appeals of which are impulsively responded to by the mass of the people. Hence it does not originate in the elision of a letter or the prolongation of a vowel-

sound. These remarks are based on the Buddhistic Gâthâs as they are preserved in the Lalita-Vistâra, —the only work which gives us some insight into the under-currents of thought and feeling of Non-Âryan India. The following conclusions may be categorically stated. Some Gâthâs are re-actionary. The principles, they embody, are diametrically opposed to those authoritatively taught by the Brahmavâdins and assiduously interpreted by the Âchâryas in the course of generations. The sacrificial philosophy and practices produced a re-action. The authority which the Brâhmaṇas claimed over the other classes perhaps awakened opposition. 1. Some re-actionary Gâthâs belong to the Brahmavâdin period. 2. Others to the Âchârya-period. 1. When the nation delighted in the performance of sacrifices, the sacrificial Gâthâs were sung. The dissenters naturally had their own Gâthâs which condemn sacrifices. 2. When metaphysics was energetically cultivated by the Âchâryas, the powerful warriors like Râma or Arjuna, it is said, learnt the art of war from priests, and kings like Dasharatha obtained sons through the blessings of Munis. The dissenters, however, sang of their triumphs and defeats in their way. Some Gâthâs illustrate this period. There are thus three positions for which we have to produce evidence:—1. the antiquity of some Gâthâs. 2. the re-actionary spirit of others. 3. Their gradual systematic growth. The evidence we can adduce is two-fold:—philological and documentary. The remarks[1] already made show that the forms,

[1] See pages 94 and 95.

which Pâni*ni* considers to be antiquated and peculiar to the Chhandas, are used by the poets as if they were ordinary. The Gâthâs of the Zoroastrians show how prevalent this Gâthâ-literature once was. Gâthâs were sung by the Aitareyins, such as the Gâthâs put in the mouth of Nârada. The first table shows how the language of the people at the time of the Lalita-Vistâra began to deviate from the classical Sanskrit as written and spoken by the learned. The second table gives re-actionary Gâthâs. There are abundant references to a spirit of opposition and non-conformity in the Vâjasneyi-Sanhitâ and Taittirîya Brâhma*na*, as well as in the Upanisads. The third table illustrates the gradual growth of the Gâthâ literature.

The times of the Dhamma-pada.

The power of the Sangha, Dhamma, and Buddha, was now established. The authority of elders in monasteries was supreme. Doctrines, apparently based on the dicta of Buddha, but inculcating practices and principles at variance with his spirit, were taught. To check this tendency, genuine Buddhistic duties were resuscitated. Yet the sense of the inner struggle, painted in vivid colours in the Lalita-Vistâra, was now totally extinct. Obedience to the monks and ascetics was the duty much insisted upon. The spiritual activity, which an actual war with Mâra had awakened, was now directed into a new channel. Now the Law or Dhamma was to be studied, to be read, to be contemplated, and to be followed. The change was great. Instead of fighting a battle with Mâra with

spiritual weapons, the priests were to be obeyed and a description of battles was to be read. The military operations of Mâra—which at the time of the Lalita-Vistâra were believed to be real, varied and insidious—were now only narrated. Thus the times of peace and prosperity had succeeded the perilous times of spiritual warfare. The enemy had ceased to exist, for personal Mâra with his mighty hosts of living sins is not mentioned in the Dhamma-pada. Abstract duties are systematically described. Sins and penalties are enumerated. The punishment inflicted by kings is referred to. This is a significant circumstance in a code of morals. The language of the Dhamma-pada shows that the Sangha, in the sense of the populace, had made a great progress as compared with that which the Gâthâ-literature discovers, for the populace acted powerfully on the language. Facility of pronunciation, an important phonetic law, had broken up many words, had dropped the last consonant of almost all words, and had softened every compound syllable. In the Gâthâ-literature, the beginning only of such a process could be discovered. Then the gulf between the Gâthâs of the populace or Sangha and of the educated or Udgha was neither deep nor wide. The language of the Gâthâs is Sanskrit as acted upon a little by a Prâkrit. Now the Sangha predominated. The language of the higher classes or Udgha together with their pretensions was ignored, for to a king like Ashoka a part of the Dhamma-pada was read. The feelings of those, who belonged to his court and who had heard or read pure classical Sanskrit, could not but be embittered, when the great

king devoutly listened to the verses of the Dhamma-pada read; The Dhamma-pada or "path of duties" was, however, sanctioned and recognized. An illustration will throw light on these remarks. The feelings of a modern Marâthi Pandit, when he listens to the Gâthâs of Tukârâma, are thus expressed:—poor ignorant and helpless followers of a Shûdra poet! what degeneracy! Yet Tukârama was a great genius. His Gâthâs afford the only intellectual and spiritual food that the uneducated crowd can digest. The disciples of Tukârâma, who are decidedly numerous, and among whom respectable Brâhmanas can be included, consider his Gâthâs to be a Veda itself. Similar was the power of the Dhamma-pada, as inculcated on the Sangha. The following table with its remarks will explain the derivation of the language of the Dhamma-pada from that of the Vedic Gâthas. The language of the populace was fixed: its duties were defined: its power was established: its teachers were honoured: and it had begun to bask in the sun-shine of royal patronage; but its spirituality culminated. It could not cherish the high heavenly aspirations which once penetrated the recesses of its heart and stirred up its depths. Deep spirituality gave way to metaphysical speculations. The populace learnt to follow its leaders quietly. The Bouddhâchâryas propounded their doctrines, and over-ruled the Shramanas. The monasteries underwent a great change. They became schools. It must be observed that the history of the Gâthâ-literature attempted in this chapter confirms the conclusions already arrived at.

SECTION II.

THE PERIOD OF METAPHYSICAL BUDDHISM.

The history of this period brings into relief the main doctrines of Buddhism as it is now understood, and throws light on modern Buddhism, and on the prevailing systems of belief among the Hindus.

The times of the Dhamma-pada.

A complete system of Buddhistic morals is inculcated, Buddhistic etymology of Sanskrit terms is proposed, the doctrines of Goutama Buddha are authoritatively laid down.

The times of Bouddhâcharyas.

The antecedents of the Bouddhâcharyas may be rapidly examined, so that a connected history of the philosophy as developed by Âryan dissenters and non-conformists may be presented at one view. Because the Atharva-Sanhitâ mentions Iksvâku, the first founder of the lunar dynasty from which Râma, the hero of the Epic called Râmâya*na*, sprang; because Chhândogya mentions Janaka of Videha, K*risna*, the son of Yashodâ, and Nârada, the great philosopher; because the story of the Râmâya*na* forms an episode of the Mahâbhârata, because P*â*nini distinctly refers to the Mahâbhârata and Chhândogya and mentions Yudhis*th*ira, Arjuna, and other heroes; and because all these references from different works, though unconnected with each other, point to the same poem; we have already

indicated the chronology of the Râmâya*n*a to be antecedent to that of Pâ*n*ini. But in a canto of the Râmâya*n*a, the name of Buddha occurs—a circumstance which apparently threatens to upset our system of chronology. We consider that the verses which mention Buddha are an interpolation. We will state our reasons. 1. Every canto of the Râmâya*n*a ends with a long Shloka different in its metre from the Anustubh in which the poem is written. The canto referred to does not follow this rule. There are six long Shlokas at the end of this canto. 2. The dialogue between Jâbâli and Râma is really finished in the first long Shloka. The other long Shlokas re-open it abruptly. 3. The long Shlokas do not sustain the general character of Râma as depicted by Vâlmîki in his Epic. 4. The long Shlokas directly contradict the tone of the dialogue as described in the canto itself. 5. The poet describes Jâbâli as a great man: Râma in the long Shlokas speaks violently of him and even characterizes him as thief. Jâbâli was a materialist, probably a follower of Br*i*haspati, who, however, disbelieves the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, while Jâbâli of the Râmâya*n*a suggests it. Perhaps Atheism, to which Pâ*n*ini refers, was not as yet systematized. But it had made progress enough to attract the notice of a great poet like Vâlmîki. The atheists of the time of Pâ*n*ini, well versed in the Vedic system of religion and theology and the literature and philosophy of the Âchârya-period, gradually developed into materialists, and Br*i*haspati distinguished himself as a teacher, when materialism was the prevailing form of thought.

The Lalita-Vistâra mentions his system by name. The materialists at first made short work of the supercilious pretensions of the sacrificing Âryas. The Sangha perhaps sympathized with them as it had been obstinately excluded from the institutions of the Vedic polity. Buddhists were opposed to materialists and other atheists as they had a system of faith. But Philosophy was not cultivated as a special branch: its intricacies were not discussed: its abstruse problems were not stated: and its categories and classifications were not mastered by the Buddhists during the first period from the time of the Lalita-Vistara to that of the Dhamma-pada, when renowned Buddhistic teachers were engaged in the development and systemization of their doctrines, in the propagation of their tenets, in the composition of stirring poems and songs, in the suppression of heresies and schisms among themselves, in the discussions originated by the convocations held from time to time, in the advancement of their cause by enlisting the sympathies as well of the princes as of the people, in the establishment and inauguration of the monasteries throughout at least the greater portion of northern India, Bengal, the Punjab, and in the organization of the bodies of missionaries to be sent to Ceylon, Burmah and Tibet. When their triumph and their prosperity afforded the necessary means and leisure, Nâgârjuna began a war with the atheists. He was a perfect Nihilist. His motto was different from those of other schools of Buddhistic philosophers:—"Momentary, momentary! Painful, painful! Natural, natural! Vain, vain!"—and their doctrines on important subjects

materially varied. The four-fold motto producing a four-fold conception or a four-fold idea was warranted by the teachings of Buddha Goutama himself. The mottoes explained impressively the nature of the world and existence: and showed that all, that the world and its pursuits could afford, was pain. But it was necessary to explain the cause of existence, to demonstrate the bearing of the active principle called Karma, and to establish, on a philosophical basis, the relation between Karma and its accumulated effect called Upâdâna. Buddha Goutama had spoken of Karma and Upâdâna; but his statements were indefinite. They were used in the sense that the Sangha in the course of centuries had learnt to attach to them. The philosophical difficulty as to their origin, their continuance, action, and bearing on each other, was not stated. This difficulty mystifies the doctrines of Buddhism, and when carefully analysed, discovers its extreme weakness. Nâgârjuna and his contemporary thinkers explained the mystery away by emphatically stating that it was so. The fourth motto declared that all was vanity, and that nothing was real. This was the forte of Nâgârjuna's philosophical system. The influence of Nâgârjuna or Nâg-sena was great. His writings are known in Tibet and in Ceylon. The conversion of Kashmir to Buddhism is attributed to him. Malinda Prashna, a work, which is commented upon by Singhalese scholars, mentions that Nâgârjuna accepted the challenge of Yona—prince of that Sakala or Sankala in the Punjab, which was well-known in the Vedic-period—solved the metaphysical problems the prince

proposed to him, expounded his own doctrines and succeeded in converting Malinda. He founded the Mâdhyamika school of Buddhists. He implicitly accepted the teachings of Buddha Goutama as the infallible basis, but stated that liberty was granted by that sage to discuss all questions. The faithful Sangha, more under the influence of feeling than of thought, could bear no controversy during the first period: schisms had been forcibly suppressed: insignificant differences as to small matters of discipline such as diet or clothes once necessitated a convocation. The monks and laymen were equally asked to believe in Buddha Goutama and attain to Nirvâ*n*a. Implicit faith founded on the agitation of feelings may cause a religious revival. But a religious movement which depends on the activity of feelings alone cannot be sustained and continued. Intellectuality alone can sustain a movement. This element in the first Buddhistic period was wanting. Gradually the stirred up feelings settled. War with Mâra was described and not realized; indolence, which prosperity invariably produces, encouraged ignorance. "Oh Buddha that had overcome Mâra" was all that most monks could utter. Their feeling was dulled: their intellect was warped: their aspirations were thwarted. Against this state of things, powerful minds like that of Nâgârjuna revolted. He encouraged discussion and asked his contemporaries to raise any doubts they could, inculcating, at the same time, strict adherence to the principles of the great Teacher. Because he took his stand between implicit faith on the one hand, and the liberty of private judgment on the

other, his followers came to be called Middle-men or Mâdhyanikas. His distinctive doctrine was:—all was vanity and nothing was real. The spirit was *nihil*: the matter was *nihil*. The world was *nihil*: the phenomena were *nihil*: the noumena were *nihil*. Against this extreme nihilism, other thinkers revolted. They asserted that the four-fold conception as embodied in the mottoes, was true; but though the phenomenal existence was not real, the ideal was real. The spirit, influenced by unceasing desires, assumes the phenomenal forms which delude mankind. They considered the spirit to be a reality and the material world to be a delusion. These philosophers were known as Yogâcharas, whose doctrine of salvation was that the spirit, when freed from ignorance and its consequences, emerged in the form of true knowledge. Against these, the Soutrântikas stated:—the existence of the material world can be inferred, and what is established by inference is as real as what is directly perceived. Therefore, the spirit is real: and in one sense, the phenomena are real; thus the material as well as the spiritual is real. The knowledge to be secured for salvation abides, they said, in the spirit; which the *Ego* represents. The Vaibhâsikas boldly asserted:—Buddha Goutama contradicts himself in as much as he states at once that all is *nihil*, and that the seat of knowledge is real. These discussions and systems of philosophy revolutionized the Buddhistic world. The Bouddhâchâryas were everywhere respected. Faith gave way to knowledge. Metaphysical learning was encouraged. New interpretations of the dicta of

Buddha Goutama were proposed. Controversies with learned Brâhmaṇas were carried on. Special delight was taken in a metaphysical debate. Monks were opposed to monks, and monasteries to monasteries. But Buddhism necessarily began to lose its hold on the populace and respectable laymen. Their intellect could not grasp the metaphysical principles. Their feelings were not appealed to. The populace could not be attracted. The philosophers could never elicit popular interest. For some time, their contests amused the people as the gladiators entertained the Romans. But the interest could not be sustained. The people soon began to turn away from the discussions with disgust. The feelings of the populace were about to be alienated. But a change, produced by the ambition of monks, delayed the crisis. Some eloquent monks explained treatises like the Dhamma-pada and interspersed the discourse with the stories of the Arharts. Crowds were attracted, and once more the current of rich offerings flowed in. The reputation of an eloquent monk secured him respect. Others ambitiously followed the example thus set. Instead of the metaphysicians, the eloquent preachers were admired and patronized by the populace. Thus the third period of Buddhism was ushered in.

A note on the signification of Nirvâṇa.

The question as to the precise connotation of the word Nirvâṇa is important, as its solution will throw new light on Buddhism. But the first principle of exegetics is to interpret an author

by collating his utterances. This undoubtedly the Buddhistic metaphysicians did, and came to the conclusion that the dicta of Buddha were not consistent. The Mâdyamikas looked at one side of his system, and the Soutrântikas, at the other. But the Vaibhâsikas looked at both. Unfortunately, the original systems of these philosophers are not yet discovered. Our information is based on references scattered throughout the Buddhistic writings of the third period or philosophical writings composed about the beginning of the Brahmanical revival. Hence our knowledge of the second period of Buddhism is comparatively meagre. Yet it can afford materials sufficient for this enquiry. The Buddhists, who had studied the system of the great Teacher and whose minds were accustomed to define terms, declared that at different times Buddha Goutama made different statements. This is borne out by the Gâthâs preserved in the Lalita-Vistâra. In one Gâthâ the Mâdhyamika doctrine is distinctly stated. "The Yogî perceives all, that is in the spirit, as *nihil* and, all that is material, as *nihil*." In other Gâthâs—the following expressions occur—"the tranquil path." "He is the giver of eternal bliss." "He is the giver of the fruit of eternity." "Here-after there is no destruction of him." "His doctrine is eternal and leadeth to tranquillity." This inconsistency of Buddha Goutama can be explained. A system of belief had grown up. It had freely used the terms:—Manas, Manomaya, Prâ*n*a-sharîra, Chitta, Dhyâna, Vijnâna, Bala, Vibhûti, Skanda and Âyatana in the very senses, in which Buddha Goutama used them. The Gâthâs, sung long before

him, stated.—"A wise man does not know death, or disease, or pain, yet he sees every thing. From all sides he obtains all things." In these Gâthâs, the term Amrita is used in a positive sense. These antecedents influenced Buddha Goutama; and his ideas as to eternal bliss were positive. But his powerful mind, when it looked in upon itself, discovered an immense void and an infinitude of nihilism; the more he examined it, the more it seemed to extend on all sides. He felt himself lost in it. His habits of contemplation confirmed him in this notion. In this void, there was no pain: there was no interruption: there was no time: there was no space: there was no self-consciousness: it cannot be affirmatively characterized. Contemplative minds alone can realize it. Poet Wordsworth, when absorbed in thought, exclaims:—

"His spirit drank
The spectacle; sensation, soul and form
All melted into him, they swallowed up
His animal being. In them did he live
And by them did he live; they were his life.
In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.
No thanks he breathed, he offered no request.
Rapt into still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
His mind was a thanksgiving to the power
That made him. It was blessedness and love.

The Phrases—"he made no request." "Still communion." "Thought was not." "It was blessedness and love."—discover how the negative and the positive are blended in the picture of bliss of com-

munion. Hence Buddha Goutama was not inconsistent in his statement of the bliss which contemplation produces. He characterized it as both positive and negative. He felt that a something concealed in the recesses of his inner self was to be contemplated and known; yea, it was to be seen, to be realized, to be obtained.[1] About the time of the Dhamma-pada the ecstatic condition of the spirit could not be understood. The Dhamma-pada[2] is distinct as to the meaning of Nirvâna. But the Arhat is distinguished from the Buddha. The first has his trials: the last only is omniscient. Some Arhats even at this time pretended to possess super-human powers. Their pretensions are strongly condemned in the Dhamma-pada. In the second period of Buddhism the main idea of Nirvâna was thoroughly apprehended. A something, which Buddha Goutama often spoke of, is essentially and intrinsically bliss itself eternal and positive. But it is concealed from mortals by Upâdhi, which being removed, eternal bliss is revealed and realized. In this connection, the doctrine of transmigration of souls serves an important purpose in the Buddhistic system. Though the accumulated effect of actions (Karma) cannot be nullified all at once, nay even in one life, however righteous it may be, yet in every life merit is acquired. The fruit of merit is enjoyment. Karma must needs produce its effect. But it can never lead to salvation or Nirvâna. The reward of merit or the penalty of demerit is

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1 See the Lalita Vistâra (V. 447.). Bibliotheca Indica.

2 See 381 verse.

enjoyed or suffered either in heaven or hell, or in the course of different lives. Thus sufficient time or an opportunity is afforded to beings to exhaust their stock of accumulated Karma. This is carried so far that, when accumulation of new Karma is stopped, or when a being has attained to the third path or stage—that of Arhat—the Karma accumulated must run its course. The Arhat is pure and free from the influence of desires. But he cannot attain to Anupâdishesa Nibbâna before his Karma is exhausted, or before its fruit, whether good or evil, is experienced. Thus many births an Arhat must pass through in a state of Upâdishesa Nibbâna. This phase of Buddhistic thought is essential to the adequate apprehension of the doctrine of Upâdhi and Nirvâna. It was developed and fixed in the second period of Buddhism. The doctrine of Nihilism was boldly broached, propounded, and preached by Nâgârjuna, the great apostle of metaphysical Buddhism. He was not allowed, however, to publish his doctrine without continued contradiction. His powerful eloquence, his fund of appropriate illustrations, his subtlety of reasoning, and his thorough knowledge of metaphysics, soon established his system in Thibet, Burmah, Ceylon, and Kashmir. The Buddhistic philosophers, who strenuously opposed him, have been forgotten. Their distinctive doctrines are little known. This circumstance explains the *consensus* of opinion—as to the Buddhistic Nirvâna consisting in annihilation—of European scholars who have studied Buddhism in different parts of Asia, and whose source of information is the same—the system of Mâdhya-

mika philosophy. The study of Indian philosophy throws a side-light on the question of the exact signification of the term Nirvâna. The doctrines of Yogâchâras, Soutrântikas, and Vaibhâsikas, distinctly maintain that eternal beatitude enjoyed by the spirit in its condition of Anupâdishesa Nibbâna constituted real Nirvâna. In the third period of Buddhism the pretensions of mere Buddhistic ascetics were so well established that every ascetic or *Thero* (an elder in the church) was an Arhat, and his death was called Nirvâna. Thus we have explained why the doctrine of Nihilism is prevalent, what Buddha Goutama's preaching on the subject of Nirvâna was, what statements are made in the Lalita-Vistâra, what Anupâdishesa and Upâdishesa Nibbânas are, and what purpose they serve in Buddhistic theology, what is the significance of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and of the systems of heaven and hell; and we humbly believe that we have met the views of D'alwis, of Childers, and of Dr. Max Müller. We cannot, however, but acknowledge the important services rendered by indefatigable and highly talented scholars like Burnouf and Max Müller to the subject of Buddhism, and to the elucidation of some intricate problems connected with it.

Section III.

THE PERIOD OF POPULAR BUDDHISM AND ITS DECLINE.

Popular Buddhism is to be distinguished from metaphysical Buddhism, because many shifts to be

explained in the sequel, were adopted by priests, and because a new system of faith propped up by a new literature, was developed.

The third period of Buddhism.

The immense literature developed by Buddhists, who used the Pâli language, and the narrative of the travels of Chinese pilgrims, supply sufficient information about this period. But great credulity, pompous adoration of relics,[1] miracles performed by monks who pretended to possess super-human powers, the erection and consecration of huge superstructures decorated in every way, and entailing extraordinary expenditure, characterized this period. The Chaityas or monuments, Dhâtu-garbhas or repositories for relics, triumphal pillars or stupas, and convents, abounded in the country. But because the Buddhistic edifices attracted the populace, and made an impression upon it, the Brâhmanas made efforts to build large temples where the heroes of the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata were adored. The relic worship re-acted on the followers of the Vedic polity. And because the celebrities among the Buddhists were honoured at first and gradually worshipped during the third period, the celebrities among the Brâhmanas were also honoured and worshipped. The Brâhmanas and Ksatriyas, who had resisted the power of Buddhism, devoted their

1 Beads, rosaries, and wheels for counting the numbers of prayers offered (as they are known in Thibet) we have not mentioned, because it is a development, not seen in India properly so called, and because it constitutes the fourth period of Buddhism to be traced to rather recent influences.

wealth and influence to the support of the Brâhmanical idolatry. Brâhmaṇas also performed miracles which astonished the credulous populace and divided it. Thousands equally visited a statue of Buddha or of Vâsudeva. Thousands again were exclusively under the influence of Brâhmaṇas, to whom thousands of Buddhists were opposed. Brâhmaṇas in this period learnt to muster courage as they could cope with the Buddhists. Their splendid temples vied with the convents of the Buddhists, whose leaders exercised a great power over the multitude by their devotion and spiritual pretensions. Its metaphysicians discussed abstruse problems with Buddhistic metaphysicians. It had yet retained a fondness for the pure and elegant Sanskrit—the language of Pâṇini and Patanjali,—and it looked down upon Pâli as the language of the ignorant infidels. Yet Pâli was by no means to be despised. Its literature was powerful, rich in metaphysical works, and in enchanting poetry, the effect of which was great on account of the simplicity of its words and grammatical construction, and on account of the harmonious melody which, but for difference of mere sounds, may be mistaken for that of the Râmâyaṇa itself. The Buddhists did not preach to the people about the power of Mâra or about the consequences of action, (Karma); but narrated stories from the legends which abounded in this period. The Brâhmaṇas, awakened from their lethargy, and impelled by the momentum of the revival which had already taken place, narrated stories in opposition from the Purâṇas, which they composed. In this confusion, the multitude suffered; Buddhism was weakened;

Brâhmanism prospered, and, after strange vicissitudes of fortune, bade fair to regain the ascendancy which, it was once believed, it had irretrievably lost. The worship of idols was made as imposing as possible, and the multitude crowded to places where its eyes and ears could be entertained. The temple soon overthrew the convent.

The influence of Buddhism.

The period of the consciousness of the inner struggle gradually passed into that of metaphysical classifications, divisions, definitions and controversies; and this period was succeeded by gross popular Buddhism, when monks recommended good works, took a prominent part on every occasion of life, and celebrated pompously such ceremonies as the consecration of a convent or the erection of a stûpa, flattered princes and the people, never knew what the power of Mâra was, much less could realize it, and pretended to possess super-human powers. Thus Buddhism exerted a three-fold influence on modern India as a system of stern asceticism, as a system of metaphysics, and as a system which specially commended good works as the special means of securing merit. 1. Hence Sanyâsis, Aghoris, Gosâvîs, Vairagis, and a variety of ascetics, too large to be enumerated, may be seen in different parts of modern India, practising strange austerities, mortifying the flesh, astonishing the populace with performances, such as standing on a leg only, contorting their bodies by assuming fantastic postures, boldly asserting that they possess the knowledge of all places and times, foretelling

future events, or living a silent life sustained by the leaves of trees and water only. The first period of Buddhism commended pure asceticism. The third period degraded it. Modern India has aggravated it in every way. 2. Compared with Buddhistic metaphysics, and with the complex system of the different modes of contemplation, the systems of Patanjali, Kapila, and Bâdarâyana appear to be simple and meagre. The minutiæ of Buddhistic Ontology are unparalleled in the metaphysics of India, either ancient or modern. Hence the spirit of tedious and exhaustive division of a principle, which characterizes Kapila, could not but have originated in the metaphysics of a Buddhistic convent. 3. Modern Brâhmanism has built up a system of good works peculiarly appropriate to each day of the year that those, who perform them, may not suffer after death or in their transmigrations from birth to birth, and may obtain those comforts which the laity afford to the poor Brâhmanas in this life. Buddhism commended good works with great assiduity; and rich offerings always flowed into a monastery.

Now, Buddhism could not accomplish such wonderful results without developing the means of communicating thoughts and feelings. It elaborated and developed a dialect called Pâli with such zeal and success that it is now the sacred and classical language of countries like Ceylon and Burmah. The progress of Pâli re-acted on the other dialects like Mahârâstrî, and materially aided their development. Learned Buddhistic scholars seriously investigated the grammar of Mahârâstrî and other dialects. Religion and philosophy

were withheld from the common people so long as the knowledge of classical Sanskrit was essential for obtaining access to them. But Buddhism dispensed with Sanskrit, as developed and cultivated at the time of Patanjali; and Buddha Goutama delivered on principle his discourses in the popular language, which was in his time simple and broken Sanskrit. Religion and philosophy were thus brought down from heaven to the earth. The intellect of the common people was reached. Hence we find now a tendency to metaphysical thought and discussion in every part of modern India. When two or three Hindus can afford to be at leisure—no matter what their condition in life or education is, and no matter what their caste is—they seriously talk of Brahma, its mysterious sportiveness, and the variety of ways in which it manifests itself. We have come across Mâhârs and Dheds—illiterate and indigent—who could put us strange metaphysical questions, and when they found us unable to answer them, could propose solutions of their own with a marvellous confidence not to be seen in learned Brâhmaṇas. Popular teachers like Tukârâm freely use the word Nirvâṇa for salvation, though its meaning is changed, because it is used in the sense of absorption into Brahma, or of realizing the presence of God. 5. Sects like the one founded by Tukârâm condemn the spirit of caste, from the influence of which the celebrated shrine of Pandharpura in Mahârâṣtra is almost free. The temple is Buddhistic in its structure and style. Some Mâhârs and Dheds, long since dead, are recognized and revered in the place as those who attained to Nirvâṇa. Offerings are made to their monuments which are worshipped.

Again, the Shûdra is not excluded from the processions or ceremonies or councils of Brâhmanas. Offerings from Shûdras are sought and willingly accepted. The Shûdra openly performs rites and observes fasts. The Brâhmana freely and publicly officiates as his priest. The Shûdra is a prince, a merchant, a land-holder, and a Jâhagirdâr. He celebrates his marriage, just as a Brahmana does. The sacred formulæ to be uttered on these occasions are, however, not Vedic but Purânic. Thus a new line of demarcation between him and a Brâhmana is drawn. A Shûdra can learn Sanskrit poetry, philosophy, and theology, provided he does not utter or see a Vedic Mantra in original. He can use a translation. Thus a Shûdra can learn the Vedântic system and read or listen to the Purânas. Brâhmanas, who yet assert a title to superiority, freely state that there are only two castes—Brâhmanas and Shûdras; and the Shûdras now discharge the duties once assigned to Ksatriyas and Vaishyas. The influence of caste is weakened. The Shûdra is exalted. The pretensions of Brâhmanas are called into question. Though caste appears formidable at first, its vitality is gone. A Shûdra ascetic is a greater person than a Brâhmana, for the ascetic may be considered in time a god incarnate. He is worshipped and his blessings are carefully secured. 6. Thus in the course of the last eight centuries, many teachers, now recognized as gods incarnate, have flourished and founded sects. The idea of an incarnation is Buddhistic. The system of organizing sects existed in one sense at the time of Buddha Goutama. The organization of different sects is to be ascribed to Bud-

dhistic influence. The modern Sâmpradâyas have each its badge, its peculiar system of discipline, and its prophet. Modern India, though Brahmanical, is under the influence of teachers, whose caste is either not known or questionable. 7. The influence of Buddhism was efficaciously exerted in causing a re-actionary revival among the Brâhmaṇas themselves. Protestantism has acted powerfully on Roman Catholicism, and has chastened and purified it. Buddhism, in weakening Brâhmaṇas and strengthening the Shûdras in their aspirations, acted beneficially. The Vedic polity, extremely exclusive and haughty, was chastened and purified in-as-much as the drinking of Soma is not heard of, and the slaughter of animals for offering them to Agni, Indra, and other gods, have ceased. Nationalities like Gujaratha have learnt to abhor the name of meat. Even the daily diet is carefully regulated, and many nutritious articles like onions are condemned and excluded.

The Chronology and phases of Brahmanical revival.

A large historical generalization can be stated:— Whenever the intellect energizes, not one but all departments of knowledge appreciated by a nation are more or less simultaneously cultivated. Theological works are written: questions in ontology and psychology are discussed: astronomical phenomena, which are always believed to exercise a mysterious influence on the destiny of man, at least in the first stages of civilization, are carefully observed and registered. Calendars, with which astrology is mixed up, are prepared. For the entertainment and instruction of the populace, a sort of history

of the traditions, which the nation most cherishes, is narrated:—a history which imparts a knowledge of the creation of the world, its geography, its antiquities, of the heroes, who once acted their part on its stage, their exploits and miraculous powers. Between the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, India put forth energy in opposition to the Bhuddhists and exhibited a many-sided activity. About this time, Varâha Mihira wrote his treatise on astronomy, embodying such general principles as he could gather, whether from the writings of Âryas or Mlechhas. Ârya-bhatta followed up his researches in the same branch of learning. Bhâskarâchârya recast and improved the system of calendars, and communicated a new impulse to the study of astronomy by the composition of a systematic treatise. The beginning of the solar year was accurately observed and registered. The evidence for these statements can be easily summarized. The testimony—of Hionenthsang, a distinguished Chinese traveller, of Abiruni, an indefatigable Mohamedan astronomer, and of Kalhan Pandit, author of a part of the Râjatarangini, the well-known history of Kashmir,—this testimony, when it is sifted and adjudged, points to the fifth century after Christ, when dramatic poetry was written by Kâlidâsa, when Amara-sinha distinguished himself as a lexicographer, and when astronomy was strenuously cultivated by Bhâskarâchârya's school. The calculations based on the Hindu calendar, as it is used in India at present, are not correct. When deviation from the exact result arrived at by scientific astronomers is analysed and registered, the aberration is discovered to be caused by the

precession of equinoxes, and points to the sixth century A. D., when the current Hindu calendar was at first revised, if not prepared. Perhaps Vishnu Sharmâ instructed and entertained some princes entrusted to his care for their education, by means of his pleasant moral tales called Pancha-Tantra about this time. The medical work known by the name of Sushruta consists of two parts—prose and poetical pieces. The first were probably composed about the time of Patanjali who distinctly mentions Soushruti, a son or a disciple of Sushruta, and the style of the poetical pieces, which are quoted to support the remarks and comments made in prose, is ancient. Again, the prose in Sushruta was probably written about this period, for it discovers the general national tendency of adopting the Sânkhya theory of Cosmology—a tendency discernible in all compositions of this period, whether they consist of Smṛitis, Purânas, astronomy, mere popular poetry or abstruse philosophy. The Smṛitis—which codify the petrified Âryan customs, developed in the third period of the Vedic polity, and modified by the action of the Buddhists for centuries—cannot but be referred to this period. They could not be required or listened to, when the ancient Âchâryas systematized the sacrificial and domestic rites. They are not reckoned as important as the Sûtras. Their style is modern. They embody Vedic as well as Buddhistic practices: they carefully attempt to overcome the non-Vedic influences exerted by the Buddhists. The atheists and the calumniators of the Vedas are mentioned as if their power had departed, and as if they had ceased to influence society: modern practices and

castes are referred to. The feeling against the Shûdra, whom Buddhism exalted, is not strong. His status, as it was improved in the course of centuries by Buddhism, is recognized. The functions of the three castes—Brâhmanas, Ksatriyas, and Vaishyas, which were, as it were, held in abeyance, are revived and enforced without any fear of opposition. Patanjali's definition of Âryâvarta is enlarged—a significant geographical fact—and the same definition as that of Amara-sinha is given. Madhya-desha, to which Patanjali incidentally alludes, is defined and distinguished from Brahmâvarta—a distinction of which Patanjali was not aware. The different stages of the life of higher castes are adjusted. The Vedic polity insisted only on the acquisition of knowledge (Brahma-Varchasa) and on the performance of domestic and public sacrifices (Grihya and Shrouta). The third period of fusion and Buddhism popularized asceticism, and a kind of spirituality to be distinguished from worldliness. The Smritis had to take stock of all that the nation had learnt to recognize in the course of centuries, and to adjust it so that no violence might be done to the prevalent national feeling. Adjustment of conflicting customs and practices is the special function of the Smritis, that worldliness in opposition to Buddhistic asceticism may be resuscitated; that Brâhmanas may be once more revered, and enabled to lead society; that Shûdras and other castes may be conciliated by their admission within the pale of Brâhmanism; that Brâhmanical system of castes which the torrent of Buddhistic asceticism washed away, may be re-built; and that concessions, though not sanctioned by the Vedas,

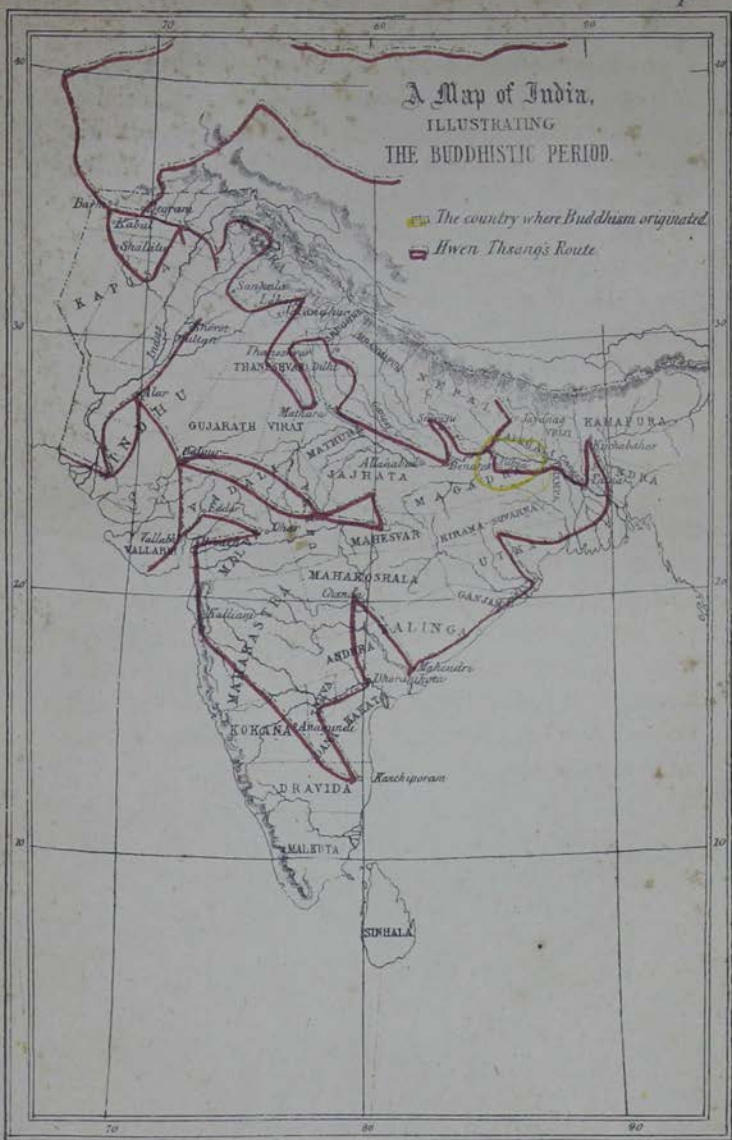
may be made to the spirit and feeling against animal-food and its use in religious rites. These functions the Smritis discharged and helped the cause of Brâhmanical revival. At the time, when the Veda was more studied, and when the Vedic polity was investigated, writers like Kumârila Bhatta naturally ridiculed the Smritis and sought to undermine their authority, because they felt that there was much non-Vedic matter in them. The Purânas are evidently written even later than the sixth century. The phrase—Itihâsa-Purânam—occurs often in the ancient Sanskrit literature during the second or third periods. Pânini understands by Purâna what is *old* as distinguished from what is *new*. Mâdhavâchârya, in interpreting a passage of the Taittirîya Âranyaka, speaks rather vaguely on the subject of Purânas, but boldly mentions the works called Brâhmanas under the head—Itihâsa-Purânam—as expressed by Aitihya. There is no distinction between Buddhistic and Brâhmanical ideas of a Purâna. There is one definition—as given by Amara-sinha. Amara-sinha is a Buddhist, and his definition cannot but be Buddhistic. His definition is:—A Purâna consists of Cosmogony, its consequences, the different cycles, descent, and the lives of heroes. This definition can enable us to fix approximately the chronology of the composition of Purânas. But it may be remarked that Amara-sinha refers to the Purânas which were developed long before his time, for no definition could be framed till their reputation had been established. In the third period of Buddhism, Cosmology was largely developed: a system of many heavens and hells was elaborated—a system which

forms the distinctive character of the Brâhmanical Purâṇas under consideration—a system in which Buddhists are distinctly mentioned by way of condemnation. The jargon, which the Tantra-literature recognized as mysterious incantations and charms, is freely adopted. But in the Agni-Purâṇa a strange rite called Nirvâṇa-Dîkṣa is commended and described. It is intended to produce Nirvâṇa in the novitiate, who performs the rite so strangely mixed up with the formulæ and principles of the Tantra-mysteries. Directions for building temples are given—a fact which indicates that the erection and consecration of temples was common about this period. Descriptions of the efficacy of a rite or the marvellous powers of an idol abound. Sacred places of pilgrimage are often described in glowing colours. The people are exhorted to visit them, but Gayâ, not mentioned by Patanjali, is specially noticed and exalted. The name of Puṣkara occurs in its Pâli form—Puhkara. The stories of the Râmâyaṇa and Mahâbhârata are re-iterated, and their episodes are enlarged, and the characters, more particularly pointed. But Shiva or Vishnu figure most. The influence of Shaivism so blinded the populace that such interpolations, as support their sectarianism, are unscrupulously made and the texts of the great epics—a legacy of ancient India—are boldly tampered with. The sages of Naimiṣâraṇya narrate the stories of the Purâṇas. Kaṇâda, Goutama, Jaimini, Kapila, and Bṛihaspati are stigmatized as atheists in the Padma-Purâṇa—a circumstance which shows that the Post-Buddhistic Âcharyas, who are now confounded with the *Ṛiṣis*, had not then established their reputation, and that

they were ranked with materialists like Brihaspati, who had preceded them by centuries, and whose names were perhaps only known at the time when the particular portion of the Padma-Purâna was prepared. The Brâhmanical Purânas originated in the stories partly to be traced to the Râmâyana and Mahâbhârata, and partly such as were narrated in every house from generation to generation, and constituted the folklore of Buddhistic India. The popular bards always sing of heroes, whom the populace most admires. Gradually, this branch of popular literature grows up. Crowds assemble to listen to the entertaining and exciting stories of bards. In India at present, many stories are musically recited in the streets of Poona—stories of the exploits of Marâthâ warriors. After the decline of Buddhism about the sixth century after Christ, the Brâhmanas, awakened to the sense of their interests and anxious to enlist the sympathy of the people, collected popular tales, improved their general character, and promulgated them as old traditions or Purânas. The Purânas, of which Amar-sinha speaks, are partly philosophical and partly practical treatises, and present a striking contrast with the Brahmanical Purânas. By the side of the popular Purânas a branch of literature was developed. The orgies celebrated by the non-Âryas, at once licentious and degraded, in the recesses of their dirty habitations, gradually exerted an influence on the people in the third period of the Vedic polity. The Angiras, who developed the Atharva-Veda first noticed them, and adopted some forms of incantations. Gradually the meaningless jargon was exalted into powerful charms. The Buddhists

in the third period of their history adopted the formulæ known perhaps as Tantra as contradistinguished from sacred Mantras, developed them and used them, because on this supposition only the recognition of the Nirvâna Dîksâ in a Purâna of the Brâhmanas can be explained. The Purânas constitute the special literature of the Shûdras whose rites and ceremonies they exclusively regulate. The Shrutis and Smritis are claimed as the exclusive law-books of the Brâhmanas only. The Tantra-literature is at once extensive and profound, because many Tantras are incorporated in the Purânas; and their formulæ, and the gestures and contortions of limbs they prescribe, are to be found in all religious rites. They are mixed up with such ceremonies as Sandhyâ or daily oblations of the Brâhmana. But they are, however, tacked to the Shrouta sacrifices or Grihya rites developed in the second period of the Vedic polity. Thus their nature can be at once known. Again, the Parishista literature belongs to the period of the Brâhmanical revival, for the Tantra formulæ are met with in the Parishîstas. The Shrouta Parishista is a mere catalogue of Gotras, the one that is now-a-days strictly adhered to. The Grihya Parishista is an interesting work. The Charana-Vyûha was doubtless written about the period of the Brâhmanical revival for it takes stock of such literature as had escaped extinction during the Buddhistic period. The table of the analysis of the Charana-Vyûha and the comparision of its contents with the catalogue of works, as given by Patanjali in his Mahâbhâsya, will elucidate our remarks. They both distinctly

discover the influence of Tantra formulæ upon them. Whenever in India a reformer in his discussion with an orthodox Brâhmaṇa does not permit his opponent to consider any work, he likes, to be authoritative and Vedic, and compels him to mention the name of his text and to quote a particular passage he refers to in support of his views, the orthodox Pandit invariably resorts to Parishiṣtas and modern Upaniṣads, for Purâṇas in the form of Mahâtmyas and Upaniṣads are still written. The Parishiṣtas and Upaniṣads thus quoted are worthless as they embody the doctrines and principles of a Tantra—a work which is eschewed by the most stubborn orthodox Pandit. The Tâpini-Upaniṣads and Yâmala Tantra can illustrate these statements. *Astrayaphat*, and *hum*, *him*, *hom*, *khom*, *rum*, *rom*, *roum*, *am* and numberless other forms are the mystic syllables with which the Tantra and Tâpini-literature abounds—syllables unknown to pure and classical Sanskrit. They are, therefore, the index of the influence of non-Âryas upon the Âryas.



About the time of Goutam Buddha, the Geographical centre was changed in as much as the lower valley of the Ganges became the scene of activities. The yellow colour shows this.

Catalogues of Works.

According to Patanjali's Mahâbhâṣya (I. 1, 1.), page 16, Benares edition.	According to the Charaṇa-vyûha, a copy in my possession made by Nilakaṇṭha Shâstrî, Monday, 4th of the dark fortnight of Kârtika, in the year Angirâ, Shâke 1794.
I. *Shâkhâs.*	I. *Shâkhâs.*
Of the *Ṛ*ig-Veda. 21	Of the *Ṛ*ig-Veda. 5
„ Yajur-Veda. 100	„ Yajur-Veda. 86
„ Sâma-Veda. 1000	„ Sâma-Veda. 1000
„ Atharva-Veda. 9	„ Atharva-Veda. 9
II.	II. Brâhmaṇâni.
III.	III.
1. Shikṣâ.	The same.
2. Kalpa.	The same.
3. Vyakaraṇa.	The same.
4. Nirukta.	The same.
5. Chhandas.	The same.
6. Jyotiṣa.	The same.
IV.	IV.
1. Vakovâkam.	Upa-Veda.—Ayur-Veda (of the *Ṛ*ig-Veda.). Dhanur-Veda (of the Yajur-Veda). Gândharva-Veda (of the Sâma-Veda). Shastra-Shâstraṇi (of the Atharva-Veda).
2. Itihâsa.	
3. Purâṇam.	
V.	V.
1. Vaidyaka.	Pratipadam.
	Anupadam.
	Chhandah.
	Bhâṣâ-dharmah.
	Mimânsâ.
	Nyâyah.
	Tarkah.

Description of the persons, descent, &c. of the Vedas.

Veda.	Gotra. (Descent.)	Daivata. (God.)	Chhandah. (Metre.)	Varna. (Colour.)	Akriti (Form.)	Parimâna. (Height.)
Rig-Veda	Atri.	Brahma.	Gâyatrî.	Ruru. (blackish)	Lotus-eyed, Suvibhakta-Grîvah (having a well divided neck, that is, high and rising from the shoulders), having thin hair on the head and thin beard.	2 Aratnis, or (3 feet.)
Yajur-Veda.	Bhâradvâja.	Rudra.	Tristubh	Tâmra. (red.)	Thin, tall, of a large forehead, golden eyed, bright like the sun.	5 Aratnis, or (7½ feet.)
Sâma-Veda.	Kâshyapa.	Vishnu.	Jagatî.	White.	Bearing a garland, pure, dwelling in a pure place, clothed in silk, Dânti (having about him things made of teeth), &c.	6 Aratnis, or (9 feet).
Atharva-Veda.	Vaijâna.	Indra.	Anushtubh	Very black.	Sharp, fierce, assuming any form at will, doing mean things (Sâdhyah savishvâsah) (breathing hard), intoxicated, black-headed, lascivious, having an eye upon the wives of others.	

REMARKS.—Any fruit is obtained by contemplating these persons, says the Charana-vyûha. Patanjali does not describe the personality of the Vedas. The absurd descriptions indicate their origin from the Tantra-literature. At the time of Patanjali the compass of profane literature was limited. At the time of the Charana-vyûha more branches of profane literature were cultivated, and less Shâkhas of the Vedas, known. Hence the conclusion is that the catalogue of the Charana-vyûha was prepared at the time of the Brâhmanical revival.

I.—A table to show how the language of the people at the time of the Lalita-Vistâra began to deviate from the classical Sanskrit as written and spoken by the learned.

Lalita-Vistâra.	*Sanskrit equivalents.*
Ayu	Ayam.
Imu	Idam.
Istrî	Strî.
Uchch	Uchchaih.
Gachchh	Gachchhati.
Kṣipimsu	Kṣipanti.
Tatha	Tathâ.
Deviye	Devyâh.
Dharenti	Dhârayanti.
Dadahi	Dehi.
Pûjam	Pûjâm.
Pravethâ	Pravestayatha.
Phullitâh	Phullâh.
Bhaviya	Bhavet.
Bhavitvâ	Bhûtvâ.
Mahyam	Mattah (from me.)
Raksathâ	Raksata.
Ratanu	Ratna.
Shrunitvâ / Shrutva	Shrutvâ.
Sahe	Saheta.
Sahâti	Sahate.
So	Sah.

II.—A table of re-actionary Gâthâs.

Kathopanisad: Chapter 1. *Valli* 2, *Verse* 14.

Anyatra dharmâdanyatrâdharmâdanyatrâsmât kritâkritât. Anyatra bhûtâchcha bhayâchcha yat tat pashyasi tad vada.

Kathopanisad : Chapter 1. *Valli* 2, *Verse* 23.

Nâyamâtmâ pravachanena labhyo, na medhayâ, na bahunâ shrutena, yamevaisa vrinute tena labhyastasyaisa âtmâ vrinute tanûm svâm.

Kathopanisad : Chapter 1. *Valli* 2, *Verse* 25.

Yasya Brahma cha Kshatram cha ubhe bhavata odanam, mrityur yasyopasechanam ka itthâ veda yatra sah.

Kathopanisad : Chapter 1. *Valli* 3, *Verse* 8.

Yastu vijnânavân bhavati samanaskah sadâ shuchih, sa tu tatpadamâpnoti yasmâd bhayo na jâyate.

Kathopanisad : Chapter 2. *Valli* 5, *Verse* 3.

Urdhvam prânamunnayatyapânam pratyagasyati, madhye vâmanamâsînam vishvedevâ upâsate.

Kathopanisad : Chapter 2. *Valli* 6, *Verse* 11.

Tâm yogam iti manyante sthirâmindriyadhâranâm, apramattastadâ bhavati yogo hi prabhavâpyayou.

Kathopanisad: Chapter 2. *Valli* 6, *Verse* 13.

Astîtyevopalabdhavyas tattvabhâvena chobhayoh astîtyevopolabdhasya tattvabhâvah prasîdati.

Kathopanisad : Chapter 2. *Valli* 6, *Verse* 14.

Yadâ sarve pramuchyante kâmâ yesya hridi shritâh, atha martyo mrito bhavatyatra Brahma samashnute.

Kathopanisad : Chapter 2. *Valli* 6, *Verse* 15.

Yadâ sarve prabhidyante hridayasyeha granthayah, atha martyo mrito bhavatyetâvad anushâsanam.

Kathopanisad : Chapter 2. *Valli* 6, *Verse* 17.

Angusthamâtrah purusontarâtmâ sadâ janânâm hridaye sannivistah.

Prashnopanisad : Prashna 3. *Verse* 12.

Utpattimâyatim sthânam vibhutvamchaiva panchadhâ, adhyâtmamchaiva prâ*n*asya vijnâyâm*r*itamashnute, vijnâyâm*r*itamashnuta iti.

Prashnopanisad : Prashna 4. *Verse*, 11.

Vijnânâtmâ saha devaishcha sarvaih prâ*n*â bhûtâni sampratis*th*anti yatra tadaksaram vedayate yastu Somya sa sarvajnah sarvamevâvivesheti.

Prashnopanisad: Prashna 5. *Verse* 6.

Tisro mâtrâ m*r*ityumatyah prayuktâ anyonyasaktâ anaviprayuktâh k*r*iyâsu bâhyâbhyantaramadhyamâsu samyak prayuktâsu na kampate jnah.

Prashnopanisad : Prashna 6. *Verse* 6.

Arâ iva rathanâbhau kalâ yasmin prati*s*thitâh, tam vedyam Purusam veda yathâ mâ vo m*r*ityuh parivyathâ iti.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 1. *Khanda* 1, *Verse* 8.

Tapasâ chîyate Brahma tatonnamabhijâyate, annât prâno manah satyam lokâh karmasu châm*r*itam.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 1. *Khanda* 2, *Verse* 3.

Yasyâgnihotramadarshamapourn*a*mâsamachâturmasyamanâgrayanamatithivarjitamcha, ahutamavaishvadevamavidhinâ hutamâsaptamâmstasya lokân hinasti.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 1. *Khanda* 2, *Verse* 7.

Plavâ hyete ad*r*id*h*â yajnarûpâ a*s*tâdashoktamavaram yesu karma.

Mundukopanisad : Mundaka 1. *Khanda* 2, *Verse* 8.

Janghanyamânâh pariyanti mûd*h*â andhenaiva nîyamânâ yathândhâh.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 1. *Khanda* 2, *Verse* 9.

Avidyâyâm bahudhâ vartamânâ vayam k*r*itarthâ ityabhimanyanti bâlâh yat karma*n*o na prevedayanti râgât tenâturâh ksînalokâshchyavante.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 1. *Khanda* 2, *Verse* 10.

Is*t*âpûrtam manyamânâ vari*s*tham nânyachchhreyo vedayante pramûdhâh.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 1. *Khanda* 2, *Verse* 11.

Tapahshraddhe ye hyupavasantyaranye shântâ vidvamso bhaikshacharyâm charantah, sûryadvârena te virajâh prayânti yatrâmritah sa puruso hyavyayâtmâ.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 2. *Khanda* 1, *Verse* 7.

Tasmâchcha devâ bahudhâ samprasûtâh sâdhyâ manusyâh pashavo vayâmsi.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 3. *Khanda* 1, *Verse* 3.

Yadâ pashyah pashyate rukmavarnam kartâramîsham Purusam Brahmayonim tadâ vidvân punyapâpe vidhûya niranjanah paramam sâmyamupaiti.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 3. *Khanda* 1, *Verse* 4.

Prâno hyesa yah sarvabhûtair vibhâti vijânan vidvân bhavate nâtivâdî.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 3. *Khanda* 1, *Verse* 5.

Satyena labhyastapasâ hyesa âtmâ samyag jnânena Brahmacharyena nityam, antah sharîre jyotirmayo hi shubhro yam pashyanti yatayah kshînadosâh.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 3. *Khanda* 1, *Verse* 8.

Na Chakshusâ grihyate nâpi vâchâ nânyair devais tapasâ karmanâ vâ, jnâna-prasâdena vishudhasatvastatastu tam pashyate niskalam dhyâmânah.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 3. *Khanda* 2, *Verse* 1.

Upâsate Purusam ye hyakâmâste shukrametadativartanti dhîrâh.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 3. *Khanda* 2, *Verse* 2.

Kâmân yah kâmayate manyamânah sa kâmabhir jâyate tatra tatra paryâptakâmasya kritâtmanastu ihaiva sarve pravilîyanti kâmâh.

Mundakopanisad : Mundaka 3. *Khanda* 2, *Verse* 3.

Nâyamâtmâ pravachanena labhyo na medhayâ na bahunâ shrutena

Mundakopanisad : *Mundaka* 1. *Khanda* I, *Verse* 5.

Tatrâparâ *Rig*-vedo Yajur-vedah Sâma-vedo Atharva-vedah, Shikshâ Kalpo Vyâkaranam Niruktam Chhando Jyotisamiti. Atha parâ yayâ tadaksaramadhigamyate.

Chhândyogya : Prapâthaka 3. 11, 2.

Na vai tatra na nimiocha nodiyâya kadâchana devâs tenâham satyena mâ virâdhisi brahmaneti.

Lalita-Vistâra, Chapter IV.

Tatra pratipadya prâpsyatha niyatam sukhamanantam sarva anityâ akâmâ adhruvâ na cha shâshvatâpi na kalpâh, mâyâmarichisadrishâh vidyutphenopamâshchapalâh, na cha kâmagunaratibhistriptir lavanalakam yathâ pîtvâ.

Nacha vâkya rutaravena shakyâh sampâditum kushaladharmâh.

Lalita-Vistâra, Chapter VI.

Vachanamima Shunitvâ brâhmanâ evamâhuh, prîti vipula vindâ nâsti pâpam kulasya. Hînavimânapâlânâm trayastrinshânâmuttamam, vaijayantasamam veshma bodhisattvasya dâsmyaham.

Shakrabrahmalokapâlâh pûjanâya nâyakam, trîni kâla âgamitva bodhisatva antikam.

Lalita-Vistâra, Chapter XII.

Na kulena na gotrena kumâro mama vismitah, gune satye cha dharmecha tatrâsya ramate manah.

REMARKS.—These Gâthâs are re-actionary in-as-much as a new method of interpreting the Sanhitâs and Brâhmanas is propounded by the Upanisads. The Âryas, instead of looking out upon the external sacrifice and its varied forms as described in the Sanhitâs and Brâhmanas, began, at the time of the Upanisads, to look in upon themselves, and to examine what the human spirit is, and what is its relation to the universal, unlocalized Supreme Spirit, and instead of attaching extraordinary importance to the performance of sacrifices, sometimes spiritualized them away, and sometimes condemned them, preferring meditation, contemplation, and spiritual devotion, and attempted to overcome and subdue their own passions and desires. The spirit of effervescent triumph entirely gives way to the spirit of self-abnegation ; the spirit of all races and castes being one or alike predominates over the spirit of the prestige of the Âryas.

III.—A Table to illustrate the history of the revolutionary periods of the Gâthâ-literature.

The Revolutionary period characterized by	*Remarks.*
Zendic Gâthâs.....	These are the earliest Gâthâs extant of the Âryâs. They are to be found in the Zendâvesta. We have made notes on the Zendic Gâthâs, (on pages 203, 204 and 205 of this Essay.) If all Zendic Gâthâs were thus examined, new light would be thrown on the Vedic Gâthâs and their distinctive features would be illustrated.
Vedic Gâthâs.....	These are mentioned by name in the *Rik*-Sanhitâ, but they cannot be distinguished from the Arka, Shloka, or Brahma of this period. It appears that Arka was a prayer, a Brahma was a blessing or prayer, a Shloka was a general name of a Gâthâ whether descriptive or not.
Abhiyajna Gâthâs.....	These belong to the period of the Brâhmavadins. They are called sacrificial, because they differ from the Gâthâs of the *Risis*. For instance, they occur in (8, 21, 2.) of the Aitareya Brâhmana.
Re-actionary Gâthâs.....	These belong to the period of the Achâryâs. Their nature and characteristics will be illustrated by the table of the re-actionary Gâthâs already given.
A great poetical revival.....	It was many-sided and extensive. The Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata are the encyclopedia of the poetry of the age. Stories such as are attributed to Vidapi or Pilpi are nicely narrated in the Mahâbhârata.

Buddhistic Gâthâs

of the first period.....Such as occur in the Lalita-Vistâra. They inculcate doctrines, and therefore, are constructive, while the reactionary Gâthas are destructive.

Of the second period.....Such as the poetry of the Dhamma-pada. These show that the Buddhistic doctrines were recognized and respected. They betray a feeling of stability, though they seek to conceal the feeling of sectarian triumph.

Of the third period.....The poetry of the Mahâvanso. It is ornate and artificial. It recommends works and ritualism.

Brâhmanical Gâthâs.....They are to be met with in the rank literature of the sixth century A. D.—such as the Purâṇas and the writings of the type of the Tâpini Upanisad and other modern Upanisads.

Vernacular Gâthâs.....The writings of Tukâram are known in Mahârastra as his Gâthâs : those of Nânaka and Guru Govind : those of Kabira: those of Chaitanya.

IV.—*A table showing the different forms of words of the Dhamma-pada, compared with the Vedic forms.*

Dhamma-pada.	*Vedic.*
Dhamma	Dharma.
Se*tt*a	Shres*th*a.
Pad*uh*tha	Pradus*t*a.
Nam	Nah.
Chakka	Chakram.
Che	Chet.
Pasanna	Prasanna.
Tato	Tatah.
Vo	Ivo.
Akkochchhi	Akrodhît.
Avadhi	Avadhît.
Mam	Mâm.
Ajaii	Agaisit.
Ahâsi	Ahâsit.
Idha	Iha.
Subhanupssî	Suhbhânudarshin.
Samvutam	Samvrittam.
Kusitam	....

N. B.—The language of the Vedas had about the time of the Dhamma-pada undergone great revolutions. The above forms show that the liquids had been dropped; that *sta* has passed into *ththa*; that in undergoing such a change, the preceding letter had been doubled; that consonants at the end as *t* in *chet* had been dropped; that visargah had been permanently amalgamated with the words themselves as in *tato* from *tvah*, *mano* from *manah*; that initial vowels had been dropped; that passive forms had been used in an active sense; that irregular forms as Anupassî had taken the place of Anudarshi or rather strong forms like Anupassi condemned by grammar and by the usage of the learned had survived periods of revolutions; that hard sounds like *ri* had been softened, that forms like *svar* had melted into *hur*; that words like *kusîta*, which cannot be analyzed, had come to be used and that vernacular words had asserted their power.

CHAPTER VI.

MODERN INDIA.

The Âchâryas recognized by all the sects of Brâhmanism.—Pânini and Kanâda compared.—Kapila and Bâdarâyana.—Re-action against Brâhmanism.—The problem of the failure of opposition to Brâhmanism explained.—Vaisnavism and Shaivism contrasted.—Shaivism.—The fundamental principle of the modern Brâhmanical institutions.—Modern Society.

EXTRACT FROM THE VISHNU PURANA.

(translated by H. Wilson).

"Brahmâ, Daksha, time, and all creatures are the four energies of Hari which are the causes of creation. Vishnu, Manu and the rest, time, and all creatures are the four energies of Vishnu, which are the causes of duration. Rudra, the destroying fire, time, and all creatures are the four energies of Janârdana that are exerted for universal dissolution. In the beginning and the duration of the world, until the period of its end, creation is the work of Brahmâ, the patriarchs, and living animals. Brahmâ creates in the beginning. Then the patriarchs beget progeny; and then animals incessantly multiply their kinds. But Brahmâ is not the active agent, in creation, independent of time; neither are the patriarchs, nor living animals. So, in the periods of creation and of dissolution, the four portions of the god of gods are equally essential. Whatever O Brahman, is engendered by any living being, the body of Hari is co-operative in the birth of that being. So, whatever destroys any existing thing, movable or stationary, at any time, is the destroying form of Janârdana, as Rudra. Thus, Janârdana is the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer of the whole world—being three-fold in the several seasons of creation, preservation, and destruction; according to his assumption of the three qualities. But his highest glory is detached from all qualities. For the four-fold essence of the Supreme Spirit is composed of true wisdom, pervades all things, is only to be appreciated by itself, and admits of no similitude."

CHAPTER VI.

MODERN INDIA.

The Âchâryas recognized by all the sects of Brâhmanism.

PATANJALI, author of the Yoga-Sûtra and Jaimini, author of the Pûrva Mîmânsâ had preceded Goutama, Kanâda, Kapila, and Bâdarâyana, who came after Buddhism had established its ascendancy. Goutama, in one sense, re-iterates the principles in conformity with which discussions were carried on by Buddhists who had systematized the form of a controversy. Their writings supplied materials to Goutama. The method of a controversy and the general principles of the system of Goutama may be passed over, for he expounds the elements of formal logic, and dwells on a few fallacies. He particularly refers to that division of Vedic texts which the Pûrva Mîmânsakas had developed before him, and by means of which they could meet the arguments of Buddhists against the authority and worth of the Vedas, so as to satisfy the popular mind. His arguments in this connection are of special interest to an historian. The

Mîmânsakas or Vedic exegetes had declared that the form of a word, that is, its generality as distinguished from its individuality possessed all the significant power. Goutama, whose mind was influenced by Buddhism, could not sanction the proposition of exegetes about the significant power of a word. He seriously sets about refuting it. A school of Buddhists had propounded the doctrine that the mind was the soul, and that it was transient. Goutama is opposed to this school and insists upon the eternity of the soul. He distinctly refers to the school of Buddhists who distinctly and openly asserted that all was vanity (Shûnyam), and adduces arguments against it. The doctrine of moments, which has already been explained, is condemned. Anxious to uphold the authority of the Vedas, and influenced by Buddhistic rationalism, Goutama compiled a system which possesses all the freshness which opposition can impart. He partly follows Vedic exegetes or Pûrva Mimânsakas and partly dissents from them. His system was early superseded by that of Kanâda. The principles of the philosophy of Kanâda are elaborated at once with a general grasp of the subject and with a minuteness of its details which do not fail to elicit interest. His system is more consistent than that of Goutama. He distinctly states that because the Vedas inculcate truth, righteousness and piety, their authority is to be accepted. The general principles of his psychology do not differ from those stated by so distinguished a metaphysician as Sir William Hamilton in the nineteenth century. His division of mental operations is:—volition characterized by him as internal effort, pleasure and pain, desires

and aversion, and knowledge. He insists on the soul being eternal, but suggests that it transmigrates from one human body to another after death. The doctrine of the transmigration of the soul was not developed before Buddhists. Some passages in the Upanisads appear to sanction it; but the theology of the Buddhists was built upon it. The regular stages of progress in knowledge, till a devotee should become a perfect Buddha, cannot be understood without the aid of the doctrine of metempsychosis. The Buddhistic legends are generally based on it. Again Kanâda divides Brâhmanas into false and real, and states that bad Brâhmanas ought to be never fed or encouraged. He expounds the doctrine of the two elements of the human soul—good and evil. The latter embodies the doctrine of Buddhistic Satan or Mâra. The system of Kanâda is particularly recognized as the basis of the theology of the Vaisnavas among whom only distinguished dialecticians, who study the system of Kanâda, are to be met with. The comparison of Kanâda, a Post-Buddhistic Âchârya, with Pânini, who flourished when the Vedic polity was in the ascendency, elicits the salient points of his system.

Pânini and Kanâda compared.

The motive of Kanâda is to seek for, and discover Nihshreyasa,[1] that is, final beatitude, somewhat re-

[1] *Vide* Vaishesika Darshana Biblio. Ind. (11-1, 2.). We attach importance to statements about Nihshreyasa and its absence in the Pâninîyam, where Atha shabdânushâsana is the motive; for we be-

sembling the chief good of Aristotle. Pâṇini has no motive beyond the investigation and discovery of linguistic laws.[1] II. Kaṇâda founds the authority (Prâmâṇya) of the Vedas on their inculcation[2] of "Dharma or duty" and refers to the Vedas as proving his statements. He thus indirectly alludes to the difficulty of proving the authority of the Vedas, but does not try to explain it. Pâṇini, on the contrary, does not see the difficulty, but directly operates on the linguistic facts, as they come under his observation, whether in the common language or in the Vedas. III. Kaṇâda's system of universal philosophy is founded on transcendental conceptions[3] intended to explain natural phenomena. Pâṇini's system of

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lieve the search after the final beatitude, Nihshreyasa, embodies a psychological method. Happiness is the object of ambition of every human being. Hence if it be defined and analysed, a philosopher will be able to state the means for attaining it definitely. Hence the method of Pâṇini is as different from that of Kaṇâda, as the motive of the one is different from that of the other. The procedure of the former is *a posteriori* as modified by the definition-method; that of the latter is thoroughly *a priori*. All the systems of our philosophy are analogous to the latter in this respect.

[1] Atha shabdânushâsanam. Patanjali opens his Mahâbhâṣya with this aphorism.

[2] *Vide* Kaṇâda (I. 1, 3.), on which Shankaramishra thus remarks:—"Tatl â cha Dharmasya vachanât pratipâdanât, Amnâyasya Vedasya prâmâṇyam" *Vide* also Kaṇâda (10, 2, 9.), on which Shankaramishra remarks:—"Teneshvarena vachanât pranayanâdâmnâyasya vadesya prâmaṇyam."

[3] The substances which Kaṇâda calls Prithvi predominates over his other substances (water, light, &c.) on our earth. But there are other spheres, in one of which water alone predominates; in the other, light; in the third, air; &c. This is a transcendental conception in the true sense of the term.

grammar is founded on large ideal conceptions[1] which must include every linguistic case. The result is that Kaṇâda originates a transcendentalism,[2] which charms the mind by its indefinite dimensions, its subtle penetration, and its logical consistency; and that Pâṇini developes a stern positivism, which stuns the mind by its definiteness, its practical adaptability and unimaginativeness.[3] IV. Pâṇini exhibits "modes and forms"[4] of expression which are sufficiently numerous and varied to give his readers a good insight into his logic. Kaṇâda is uniform and symmetrical enough to enable his reader to grasp the transcendental forms and to realise their conception. V. Pâṇini's forms consist in large verbal definitions, such as "Kartari shap,"[5] "Ṭrin," "Ghañ". Kaṇâda's forms are actual logical general entities. Dravya, Guṇa,

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[1] Pâṇini's general view of what is Sârvadhâtuka as embodied in his contrivance of inserting *shap* or the division into *kit* and *ñit* exemplifies Pâṇini's ideal conceptions.

[2] The speculations of later writers engraft any thing on this. Their wild Pariṣkâra well exemplified in Gadâdhart (*Vide* his discussion about the opinion of Soundaḍa in the Chaturdasha Laksant) are as remote from the original statements of Kaṇâda as one pole from the other. But the philosophy of Kaṇâda admits of this growth.

[3] The later grammarians have speculated enough and have often been ambitious of luxuriant grammatical growth. But they have moved in a certain determinate groove. Their speculations (as they are met with for instance in the Paribhâsendushekhara of Nâgojî) have a definiteness about them, for they spring from definite statements, and are totally unlike those of the Vaisheṣika writers.

[4] His collocation of the particle *cha* in his Sûtras for instance, or his commencing a Sûtra with such words as a subject or predicate at once enables a reader to connect it with what goes before and determine its sense.

[5] *Vide* Pâṇini (III. 1, 68.), (III. 2, 135.), (III. 3, 16.).

or Samavâya is real and capable of positive development. VI. Pâṇini's explanation or analysis of words is fanciful and groundless, as I have already observed; though often founded on general likenesses and differences.[1]

Kaṇâda's analysis penetrates to the inmost recesses[2] and the greatest depth of natural substances, and is founded on direct original large conceptions. VII. Pâṇini had to work upon linguistic facts which come under observation in their real forms, which are definite and generalized. Kaṇâda had to work upon facts in nature which are always complex, the real nature of which is hidden, which elude observation, the comparison of which involves the difficult processes of elimination and observation under varied circumstances with regard to time and place, and under varied conditions with regard to the phenomenon itself. VIII. The corollary of this statement is that the general rules of Pâṇini could be deductively applied and could prevent the philosopher from indulging in wild hypotheses. Out of his elements supposed to constitute a linguistic fact, the fact itself could

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[1] *Vide* Pâṇini (III. 1, 103.), which is intended for the word "Ârya" as coming under the general rule (III. 1, 97.), and as affected by the general rule (III. 1, 125.). The word "Ârya" is supposed to be derived from the root "*ṛi*" to go. Now the application of the latter general rules as based on (*S*âdharmya and Vaidharmya) to the case under discussion deserves notice.

[2] His doctrine of Vishesa, that each element is ultimately composed of atoms peculiar to itself and dissimilar to the atoms of which other elements are composed, exemplifies my statement in the text. Besides, it requires to be noticed that this doctrine is just the main assumption on which Dalton's atomic theory is based—see Gregory's Chemistry, page, 29.

be constructed; that Kaṇâda constructs a system which is a world by itself, which has a consistency and a symmetry about all its parts, but which, though founded on real phenomena, is entirely imaginary and cannot be deductively applied. IX. In the system of Kaṇâda a classification predominates and over-powers whatever grows out of it. The classification of Pâṇini subserves his system and conduces to the growth of its parts. X. The task before Kaṇâda was extremely arduous and difficult of accomplishment as compared with that before Pâṇini. XI. Pâṇini will ever be studied with increased interest, and will, in the long run, be recognized as the greatest grammarian that the ancient or the modern world has produced. Kaṇâda will be read with feelings of astonishment and pity; but Pâṇini was not so great a genius as Kaṇâda. Thus times show progress as they advanced. Buddhism had not come in vain.

Kapila and Bâdarâyaṇa.

Kapila, or rather the scholars of his time—who could not pursue the cultivation of the polemical method of Goutama or of the formal logic of Kaṇâda, because both do not possess the power of opening up a sphere of activity sufficiently large to occupy even a generation of indefatigable scholars—were exclusively engaged in excogitation. They felt that the doctrines, expounded by Mîmânsakas, were not based on sound logical principles, and that a series of sacrifices performed with care and diligence could not benefit man, for the manual labour of performing sacrifices could engage his

limbs only, but could not satisfy the cravings of his heart and the powers of his head. Besides the Mîmânsakas of this time had degenerated into mere pedants. The Sânkhyas, as the followers of Kapila are called, applied the logical principles of Kanâda, and were compelled to dissent from Jaimini. Kapila boldly inculcated a scepticism which exerted a great general influence. His principles of cosmogony are recited in Smritis and Purânas with approval. And in one sense they constitute the key-stone of the system of Bâdarâyana or of the eclectic system of the Bhagavata Gîtâ. Kapila considers Purusa or the ideal power to be lame or inactive and incapable of any action. Prakriti or nature is active and is defined to be the three qualities of evil (tamas), fruition (rajas), and purity (satvas), in equilibrium. This state of equilibrium is nature noumenal. The equilibrium being disturbed, it becomes phenomenal. The highest duty of man is to realize noumenal nature and the Ideal Power itself undistracted by phenomenal nature. Kapila refers to the philosophical schools of Kanâda and Jaimini, whenever he differs from them. His phraseology and philosophy, though largely developed and systematized, closely follow the principles of the Yoga-system which substitutes bodily penances for sacrificial works, commends the restraint of feelings as the means of contemplation, insists upon the knowledge of the identity of the human soul with the spiritual universal essence as the highest good to be sought by man. Kapila thus preached a philosophical scepticism which engrossed the attention of scholars for some time and gradually permeated the masses. His clue

was taken up by Bâdarâyana who early perceived the infidel tendencies of his system. Kapila often refers to the Vedas and does not openly ignore them. But his doctrines do not strongly support the Vedic polity. Such concealed opposition, originating in a spirit of infidelity, threatened Brâhmanism even after its revival. The system of Bâdarâyana, though a form of philosophical quietism, more in conformity with the doctrines of Kapila, is wholly built upon passages of the Upanisads, which it largely quotes and fully explains, and from which it draws such conclusions as suit its doctrines. Bâdarâyana adjusts the relation of his system to other systems, which he seeks to accommodate by assigning them a place in his theology, and which, therefore, ought to serve his system which explains the *summum bonum* of man. Bâdarâyana's philosophy is the foundation of Brâhmanism, which, when pressed by any powerful assailants, seeks refuge in the nihilistic idealism of his system which bases the Nirvâna-doctrine of Buddhism on the authority of the Upanisads and Vedas. The Sûtras of Bâdarâyana are so subtlely worded that they are variously interpreted. Shankarâchârya interprets them into his system of pure idealism. Madhvâchârya, the founder of Vaisnavaism, interprets them into his system of Theism. Râmânuja seeks to reconcile Madhavâchârya and Shankarâchârya and developes a third system called Vishista Advaita or concrete idealism. The two feelings which are common to the dialecticians—Goutama and Kanâda—as well as to the pure idealists—Kapila and Bâdarâyana—are the condemnation of Buddhists, and a desire not to ignore the authority

of the Vedas, because all these Âchâryas uphold the fundamental principle of Brâhmanism, which is inherent graded subordination of a class to a class as sanctioned by God in His Vedas.

Re-action against Brâhmanism.

The Brahmanical revival—a necessary consequence of the decay of Buddhism—ultimately developed into Vaisnavism and Shaivaism. Though Buddhism had ceased to exist, its influence continued to operate; affected by the spirit of great Buddhistic teachers, awakened to the sense of spiritual independence, inspired with high aspirations, and not insensible of their rights, the modern Âryas did not submit to the yoke which Brâhmanism after its revival sought to impose on them. In different parts of India, they systematized opposition, and led by Brâhmana or non-Brâhmana teachers, succeeded in asserting their rights. In the Punjab, Guru Nânaka set on foot a movement, which offered equality to all castes, and admitted the non-Brâhmanas into its temples as brethren. The tribe of the Jâts of the Panjab under the influence of Sikkhism gradually developed into a nationality full of spirit and noble aspirations. Many Brâhmanas became the disciples of Guru Nânaka who was not himself a Brâhmana. Idolatry—the strong-hold of priest-craft and caste—was condemned. The affairs of the temple at Amritsir are administered by castes other than Brâhmanas. The Grantha (a Book) composed by Nânaka and improved by Guru Govind superseded Vedic traditions, and yet did not adopt Buddhistic principles and practices. 2. Chaitanya preached in Bengal. Buddhistic in the spirit of equality of all

castes and Vedic in his ecstatic devotion, and poetic feeling, he set on foot a movement, the influence of which rapidly spread into Mahârâstra, where Tukâram, a Shûdra, began to preach with a power, an originality, and a devotion, which soon organized an important sect, the beneficial influence of which is discernible wherever the Marâthi language is spoken. The temple at Pandharpur is open to all classes. "God is love" said he "and faith, prayer and devotion are the only means of pleasing him. Purity of mind alone can secure heaven; no rites and ceremonies are required. The distinction between Brâhmanas and Shûdras is artificial. A mere knowledge of the Smritis and Vedas produces vanity which leads to the wrath of God." His favourite word for salvation is Nirvâna—a term which characteristically expresses the most important principles of Buddhism. 3. In the Carnatic Basva Annâ, a native of Kalyâna near Kalburga, openly declared that the secrets of religion could be revealed to all classes and castes; that the rules of pollution by touch were worthless, and were not to be regarded; that Sanskrit could be learnt by all castes; and that Shiva alone was to be worshipped. He could soon count thousands among his followers. Every body from a shoe-maker to a Brâhmana adopted the doctrines he preached. Because his followers wore a badge (Linga) of Shiva on their bodies, they came to be known as Lingâyatas (ruled by a Linga). The Lingâyata is even now distinguished for his cleanliness, industry, honesty, and wealth. The Jains, divided into two sects—the Digambaras and Svetambaras,—are found throughout India. The origin

of the sects is not yet known. They abhor animal food, and thus discover Buddhistic influence. But they do not know even the names of great Buddhistic teachers. They worship Pârasanâtha and twenty-four Tirthankâras. Of the sects enumerated, they are the worst enemies of Brâhmanas, because opposition to Brâhmanas and defiance of their authority and superiority characterize them all. The leaders of these sects communicated a great impulse to the religious education of their followers. The Sikkha literature of the Panjab-dialect is extensive. The principles it inculcates are pure : the doctrines it preaches, are simple : the rules of life it prescribes are easy, and practical. Chaitanya and Tukâram often call themselves Vaisnavas, though their doctrines have nothing in common with the Vaisnavism to be dwelt upon. The literature, which their followers developed, is voluminous. We have seen a large Lingâyata library and have talked with learned Lingâyatas. A list of a hundred volumes of Jain works can be drawn up: some can be procured. There are besides small castes that have thrown off the yoke of Brâhmanas. In some cases, the very sight of a Brâhmana at the time of performing a religious rite is shunned. But in all cases, the food prepared, nay touched by a Brâhmana, is not eaten. Yet in one sense, all the sects have failed to accomplish the object for which they were organized. Brâhmanism is still strong: its influence is still great: its power is still recognized: its leaders are still honoured: and instead of succumbing to opposition that had sprung up in different

centres, it seems to have overcome it and to have regained its authority.[1]

The problem of the failure of opposition to Brâhmanism explained.

The vitality of Brâhmanism is great, for it has disregarded opposition, has survived Mahomedan aggression, and has withstood Christianity for a century. The Mahomedans ruthlessly persecuted Brâhmanism in a fit of fanaticism. They often attempted, though in vain, to annihilate it. Gradually, however, Brâhmanism succeeded in acquiring power over the Mahomedans. Instead of being undermined by the Mosque, the Temple began to exert its influence over its aggressor. An emperor of Bijâpur permitted a temple of a Hindu God to be erected on the premises of his palace and daily visited it. Akbar was favourably disposed towards Brâhmanism, and once even condescended to hold a discussion between Brâhmanas and Câjis in an open Darbar. Dârâ-shâkû, a brother of Aurangzebe, took a special interest in the cultivation of Sanskrit learning, and attempted to study a philosophical system of the Brâhmanas. Christianity has also acted on Brâhmanism for a century. The

[1] On the subject of propagandism, some articles were written by Mr. A. C. Lyall, Bengal Civil Service, now Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, in the "Fortnightly Review." Dr. Max Müller has made a distinction between Missionary and non-Missionary religions. Brahmanism requires the adoption of one doctrine—graded inherent subordination—caste. When an individual accepts caste, he is admitted within the pale of Brâhmanism, the status of which is not affected, for Brâhmanas remain what they are. To the many units or individual castes a new caste is added. Each caste is a complete organism in itself, able to supply all its wants.

map published to illustrate the proceedings of a missionary conference held at Allahabad in the year 1872-73, about eight years ago, shows that almost every place of importance in India is occupied by European and American preachers of the Gospel, whose zeal in the propagation of their own views is exemplary. Large sums of money are annually spent. Systems of distributing Christian tracts and of itinerant preaching are organized. Marvellous energy is put forth: unprecedented efforts for the Evangelization of India are made. But Brâhmanism is rather growing than decaying—a fact which interesting contributions of Mr. A. C. Lyall have investigated and established, and which attests the vitality of the system which has withstood persecuting Mahomedanism and nullified the zealous efforts of Christianity. Great as the power of Brâhmanism is, the modern non-Âryas, at one time, succeeded in making an impression upon it. Their secession weakened it for some time, but their failure is a phenomenon in the religious history of India,—a phenomenon which calls for special investigation. All recognize the fact of the collapse of the modern religious re-actionary movements, which were inaugurated with energy and successfully carried on for a time, but which ultimately failed. Some thinkers state, to explain the phenomenon, that the modern Hindus want sustained energy to accomplish such important objects and such social reform or political elevation, and that they are not rich in efficient leadership. The collapse of Mohomedanism throughout the world is adverted to by way of illustration. The proposition is not true, for there are contrary instances in history which

demonstrate that every movement has collapsed. The history of the Greeks and the Romans supports the proposition that Âryas do possess sustained energy to work out a polity. The principle—that some counteracting social conditions thwart the progress of a movement and frustrate it—is left out of calculation by this school of thinkers. If adequate means for nullifying the action of counteracting conditions be not adopted in time, a movement, however energetically commenced, and however zealously continued, must collapse. The counteracting conditions will be discussed in the sequel. Another school of thinkers holds that all false systems must fail. If the Indian re-actionary systems be false, Brâhmanism is false. Because Brâhmanism thrives and bids fair to grow, the proposition, which includes a part of the conclusion, is not true. Another energetic school of thinkers in India observes that political influences have caused the decay of the modern Indian movements, and that if the Britons had not annihilated the political influence of the Marâthâs or Sikhas, the systems of Tukârâm and Nânaka would have prospered. The proposition is not true, for the British Supremacy equally affects Brâhmanism under the leadership of Âryas and the re-actionary sects of the modern Indians. If the tranquillity which India is blessed with, and the means of intercommunication which the Britons have improved and enlarged, aid the cause of Brâhmanism, why should the British rule act prejudicially against the non-Âryas and cause their collapse? Their failure is explained by the action of important counteracting conditions. The principle of inherent graded subordination, which

we have discussed, is so thoroughly established in India that as soon as the Indian reformers succeeded in organizing their movements, they fell victims to it. They adopted Brâhmanical forms without the power of working them. Their own priests gradually usurped the highest authority and advanced pretensions to the leadership of the sects. Acting against Brâhmanism, because it recognized the spiritual leadership of Brâhmanas, and dissatisfied with caste, because it assigned them a low social status, the Sikhas, Jains, Lingâyatas seceded from Brâhmanism, but while organizing their social systems, recognized the principle of inherent graded subordination. Rebelling against supercilious priests, they submitted to priest-hood which had not the power of helping them. Unlike the Brâhmanas, the priests of Lingâyatas or Jains or Sikhas are ignorant, and incapable in one sense of high culture. Excluded from Brâhmanical influences, the priests have sunk into barbarism. Every Brâhmana youth, however poor, aspires after knowledge of some kind, and strives to secure it at any cost. Some at least succeed in establishing themselves as learned in after life. We have travelled throughout India, and carefully sought learned Sikhas or learned Jainas or Lingâyats. Not a single learned man among these sects could be discovered. Every town of importance can show at least some Brâhmanas whose learning still commands respect. We came across only one Lingâyat who possessed a library and was able to hold a conversation on a philosophical subject. The forms of Brâhmanism without its advantages have frustrated the re-actionary movements.

Vaisnavism and Shaivism Contrasted.

Shankarâchârya materially aided the cause of Shaivism and succeeded in founding a school of exegetes. His commentaries of the ten Upanisads and of the Bâdarâyana Sûtra are extensively read, and exert a great influence on the national mind. He was succeeded by Ânandgiri and Mâdhava-sâyanâchârya, whose learned commentaries of the Vedas have given great permanence to Shaivism. The characteristic mark of this school of interpreters is to justify the existing social arrangements and customs. Mâdhava is not a reliable exegetist when such texts as threaten to upset any established institution or custom are to be interpreted. Madhvâchârya organized into a sect those who could not be satisfied with the Shaiva-system and its interpretations of the Vedic scriptures. He interpreted the Rik-Sanhitâ and employed the principle of the collation of parallel passages. His commentary of the Rik-Sanhitâ is not generally known. It is called Anu-Bhâsya, fragments of which we have procured. His interpretations of the ten Upanisads and of the Bâdarâyana-Sûtra differ materially from those of Shankarâchârya. When the commentaries of these founders of the two sects are compared, those of the former, though wanting in brilliant scholarship and erudition, discover vigour of thought and conscientiousness. Originating in the spirit of re-action against Shaivaism and built on the literature developed by Mâdhvâchârya, Vaisnavism rapidly made a great progress and at one time threatened to supplant its

rival. In conformity with Vedic thought and feeling, Vaisnavism declares the world to be real, while Shaivaism delights in declaring it to be delusive and unstable. The first considers Upâdhi or the material trammels of the spirit (Chaitanya) to be permanent and immutable. The last, on the contrary, believes that the spirit of man will be emancipated from the trammels of matter. Vaisnavism declares that the duty of man is to serve his God as the human soul and God are not one and the same. Shaivaism, on the contrary, aspires after absorption into Brahma or the Supreme Spiritual essence. Shaivaism is a comprehensive system: any idolatrous practice may be adopted or a ceremony performed by the Shaivas: a Shaiva can adopt any principle of action or any doctrine of religion, provided the worship of Shiva and the philosophical doctrine of the identity of the human spirit with the Supreme Spirit are recognized. On the contrary, Vaisnavism has a perfect and consistent system of theology. Its spiritual leaders are followed with great devotion. Gifts worth thousands of rupees are made to a monastery by its followers to enable it to keep its status and dignity. As the doctrine—that the world is a delusion—acts powerfully on the minds of women and of weak men, renders Shaivaism strong by gathering into a monastery the discontented and idle, and does no violence to the popular mind once accustomed to listen to Buddhistic preachers who declared that life and wealth were transitory, so the doctrine—that no animal sacrifice is sanctioned by the Vedas, that on no account an animal is to be killed, and that in all sacrifices, small animals made of flour,

ought to be used—helped Vaisnavism in enlisting the sympathies of the people whom Buddhistic preachers had taught to abhor the very idea of taking animal life. The doctrines of Shaivaism, so far as animal sacrifices are concerned, unfavourably contrast with the doctrines of its rival. Visnu, as represented in the Visnu-Purâna, and his spouse Laksmî are the exclusive objects of Vaisnava worship. The Vaisnavas love whatever is vertical in all they do. From the simple act of cow-dunging a room to complicated ornamentation on the walls of their temples—they carefully and conscientiously adopt the vertical. By way of opposition, the Shaivas adopt the horizontal line as their mark of distinction. But they are not exclusive, and do not conscientiously adhere to their principles.

Shaivism.

Shaivism and Vaisnavism divide Brâhmanism into two sects at variance with one another. There are minor sects, the general influence of which is limited. Shaivism recognizes Shiva as its peculiar and special object of worship. Shiva is never represented as a person. He is always to be met with in the form of the male organ of generation called Linga (a sign). The Shaivas are also known as the Smârtas, or followers of the Smritis (traditions). Shiva combines the qualities of three different persons,—a distinguished grammarian, a wild dancer and lord of devils, and a whimsical and an over-generous devotee addicted to the use of narcotics. He has two wives, the river Ganges and

Pârvatî (such wild beauty as is to be seen in mountains). He rides a bull. His usual place of abode is a burning-ground, and he is always besmeared with ashes. The system of worship adopted by his followers is simple. Water is poured on the Linga, and a sound in imitation of that of a ram is made. There is never any occasion for congregational worship. Considerable literature developed by the Shaivas is discovered in the form of Purâṇas or legendary stories which are eagerly read and listened to. The followers of Shiva perform animal sacrifices and hold Vedântic or Pantheistic doctrines. "I am purely Shiva" is always repeated by some that they may be absorbed into his essence after death. This system is partly aboriginal, partly Vedic, and partly Buddhistic. There was a distinguished philosopher of the name of Shiva who first systematically arranged the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, and composed what are called Mâheshvrâṇi Sûtrâṇi. The ancient Âryas were naturally tempted to give the non-Âryan gods Vedic names, and then attribute to them the traits of character with which they were familiar. The Romans and the Greeks, when they came in contact with other nations, proceeded in the same way. In the Ṛik-Sanhitâ, the phenomenon of thunder-storms is often referred to as Rudra. In the Vâjasaneya and Taittirîya Sanhitâs, Rudra is particularly described and personified. In the Shata-patha, he is spiritualized away as a quality of the mind. In the Nirukta of Yâska, a wife of Rudra is mentioned. Pâṇini confirms Yâska. Another god is associated with him in the great commentary of Patanjali. In the Buddhistic caves at

Ellorâ, he is represented as a patriarch with a large family. The aboriginal non-Âryas personified the Himâlaya with his wild beauty and with the Ganges flowing down from his summit covered with perpetual snow and presenting the appearance of clotted grey hair. The volcanic craters emitting redhot ashes were naturally supposed to be his eyes. Strong poison rendered his throat (the middle Zone) black. He held wild animals in his hands, and snakes coiled themselves about his body. Thus Shiva is represented in the Purâ*n*as. The system of animal sacrifices is strictly Vedic, and the Shaivas perform such sacrifices with care and devotion whenever they can. The Pantheistic doctrine—the absorption of the spirit of a devotee into the Divine essence—is the Buddhistic principle of Nirvâ*n*a with slight modifications. In the Shaiva-system, the traces of the Vedic polity and Buddhism are abundant. The Shaiva-system is tolerant and allows any practice or doctrine to be adopted, provided the lethargy of its followers is not disturbed, and their minds, not annoyed into activity.

The fundamental principle of the modern Brâhma*n*ical institutions.

The different domestic, social, religious and political institutions can be resolved into one idea—inherent and natural graded subordination based on distinctions sanctioned by Heaven itself. This idea pervades every arrangement and applies to every thing in India. The teak-wood is actually called Brâhma*n*a, because of its great durability

and susceptibility of being excellently polished. The inferior country-wood is considered Shûdra. Again, the parrot or the cow is a Brâhmana: the crow or the buffalow is a Shûdra. Thus even vegetables and lower animals are supposed to have caste. Inherent and natural graded subordination is the fundamental principle which explains the relation of the different parts of the social economy in India.

1.—*Domestic Economy.*

The father is the head of a family. All other members, whether lineal or collateral, are thoroughly subject to him. He alone can give a girl in marriage, or permit the marriage of his sons or grandsons, nephews or their sons. The united family is thus an economy in itself—all the arrangements of which are based on the principle of the inherent power of the old patriarch to make what arrangements he likes. His will, checked by family customs, is the law. We have seen a family consisting of sixty members—all obedient to the aged patriarch, dining in the same parlour, and living in unity. The custom of early marriage or rather early betrothal is a necessary part of the united family system. A wife is essentially and necessarily dependant on her husband. Her devotion to him in life as regulated by the aged patriarch cannot but culminate in the romantic idea of her dying with him. By doing this, she sustains the character of a Satî—a true woman. A widow has no independence, when she is only a young daughter-in-law. When a girl is married into a family, she becomes subject to the will of the aged patriarch who controls all

the acts of her husband. Both are parts of the united family system. When her husband dies, she cannot leave the family. It is impossible to expect her to do so. She is not independent. Thus re-marriage of widows is not now-a-days permitted.

2.—*Social Economy.*

In society the same principle of graded subordination prevails. Though there are multitudinous castes, yet the relations between them are thoroughly adjusted: they seldom jar: they are seldom antagonistic, because the principle of graded subordination is recognised. The Âryas are essentially superior to the non-Âryas. The social history of India is the history of the relative bearing of the two races on one another. At present, the two races have approached one another. If the solvents, such as education, continue to operate, it will not be long before they will be amalgamated. The division of the Âryas into Brâhmanas, Ksatriyas, and Vaishyas has become obsolete. It is distinctly asserted that there are now only two castes—the Brâhmanas and the Shûdras—who cannot intermarry nor can dine together. A Brâhmana cannot eat the food touched by a Shûdra. Pollution by touch plays an important part in the social arrangements, for it is a necessary consequence of the exaggeration of the principle of graded subordination.

3.—*Religious Economy.*

It is based on the same principle. The Hindu Pantheon represents a system in which one god is

every way subject to another. When Shiva is the Supreme Lord, all other gods are subject to him. When Visnu is considered to be Supreme, Shiva sinks into a subordinate position. When there are so many gods with their patriarchal families arranged on the principle of graded subordination, a hierarchy of priests is inevitable. Idolatry is inseparable from an hierarchy of priest-hood. Religiously, modern India is divided into so many sects, each exalting its god or goddess with a retinue of minor gods. A monastery and a temple divide society into priests and the laity. But the division is artificial, and does not affect the real social relations. The high priest of the monastery is the incarnation of god in the temple. His power is superficial and is acknowledged by marks on the body and the forehead. The high priest ministers to the religious wants of all castes: he is a remnant of the Buddhistic monks.

4.—*The Political system.*

Politically, the same principle operates in the same way. A sort of sub-infædation has long existed in India. The Âryas introduced the village-system, a small republican unit in itself, which once could attend to all its concerns and administer its own affairs. This is a remnant of the Âryan political system, the Âryas being necessarily the political leaders of society. The principle of graded subordination is thus illustrated. As when a new caste is formed, or a religious movement succeeds in splitting up a caste, the change is facilitated by the principle in conformity with which all the relations of the new society are recast without difficulty, so

when an energetic and a brave man gathers about himself an army, occupies a territory, and sets himself up as a ruler, those already in power accept his suzerainty, and quietly sink into the position of his feudatories, so long as he is powerful. As soon as he is weak and unable to hold his own, the empire is easily dismembered, a scramble for power and suzerainty ensues, and confusion and anarchy follow till some one chief succeeds in asserting his power and establishing his suzerainty; when every disorder disappears and a new political adjustment is made. The political history of India consists of a series of such adjustments. But it must be borne in mind that these struggles for suzerainty do not affect the internal political organization. Chiefs fight with chiefs, while the people are left alone. No matter what new sect is organized, the caste-system prevails *intact*. In like manner, it is no question with the people who the suzerain lord is; their village constitution, and their interests connected with the feudal tenure are not affected in any way. At least, this was the condition of the people before the establishment of the British rule. It is the formal idea of graded subordination which explains the constitution of the Hindu Society.

5.—*Modern Society.*

The state of modern India, when critically examined, gradually discovers the different phases of the civilization developed by the Âryas in India and determined by a variety of causes operating for centuries. The condition of modern India is the component result of all the activities

that the Âryas as well as the non-Aryas have put forth from time to time. The leaders of Society in India appeal, at the present time, to the utterances of the *Risi*, who chaunted his songs in remote antiquity, and preach about the beatitude of Nirvâ*n*a, the goal of the spiritual aspiration of the Bouddhâs, whose infidelity is still vehemently condemned, because they ignored the authority of the Vedas. The nation worships the multitudinous uncouth gods of the non-Âryas, who are characterized in common conversation as unclean. We have synthetically investigated the history of India, marking the different epochs at which it passed through great vicissitudes, producing facts and explaining the principles in which great revolutions originated. The best way of speaking of the different nationalities in India is to describe the natives of the valleys of rivers—the valley of the Indus including the Panjab and Sindha; the Gangetic valley being naturally divided into two parts,—the middle valley and the lower valley or the provinces of Lucknow, Cawnpur, Benares and Mirzapur, and the provinces of Behar and Bengal;—the valley of the Jamna; the valley of the Sarayu; the valleys of the Narmadâ, and of the Tâpti, or the province of Gujarath; the valley of the Chambal or a part of the Rajputânâ, the land of the Gurjars being found in Rajputânâ; the valley of the Mahânadî or Orissa. The Marâthâs constitute an interesting nationality occupying the valleys of the upper Godâvarî, the Krishnâ and the upper Tungabhadrâ. The lower Godâvarî is occupied by the Telangu race; and the lower valley of the Kâverî, by the Tamil race. The sea-coast about Trâvan-

core by a race called the Malayalam. The Kânadâ people occupy a corner between the sea-coast and the upper Tungabhadrâ. Philologically all these races are to be divided into two classes—Âryan and Turanian. Some attempt is made by two authors at investigating modern Âryan and Turanian dialects. In this connection the names of Mr. Beames and Dr. Caldwell must be mentioned. The map (No. 4.) shows the relative bearing of the Âryan and Turanian races. About the sixth century when Hiouen Thsang travelled in India, Brâhmanism had begun to assert its power. So far as its means of instruction are concerned, Brâhmanism prefers modern Sanskrit to the vernaculars. It seeks to regulate the domestic economy by the Parishistas of the Grihya-Sûtras and the Smritis, of course, modern and imbued with the spirit of the Purânic principles of social economy and religious doctrines. It places Brâhmanas at the head of society, and endows them with exclusive privileges, and bases the social fabric on the principles of caste. It teaches admiration of the four stages of life, such as Brahmacharya, the Grahasthâshrama, the Vânaprastha, and the Sannyâsa. It preaches charity and alms-giving and recommends Brâhmanas as entitled to receive them. It lays a great stress on Vratas or the performance of simple rites, in which some god is to be worshipped and charity, to be given to the Brâhmanas. It enslaves the woman upon whom it enjoins a variety of these Vratas. The work known as Vratârka, which assigns a Vrata to every day of the year and exaggerates the fruit of every Vrata, mentions a variety which includes some hundreds. It

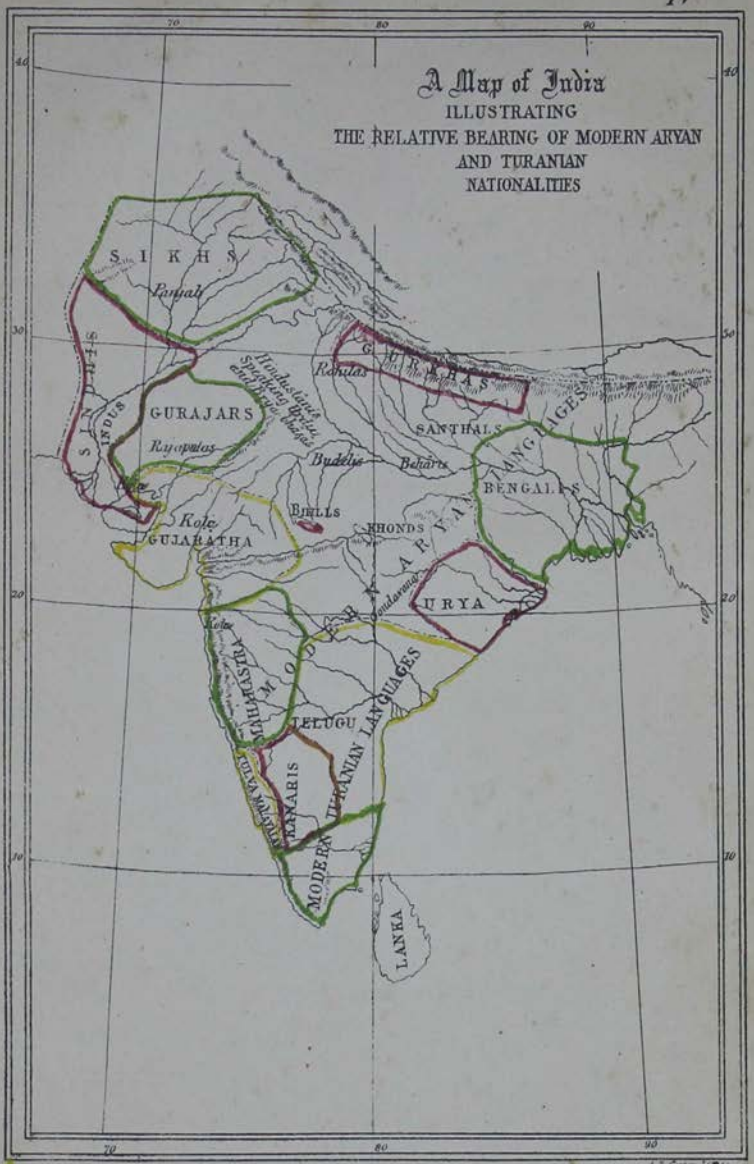
invents new Vratas. The Tulsi-plant is married to an image of Visnu. The Brâhmanas represent the manes on a day of the death of an ancestor and are fed. A thousand names of Visnu are repeated, and fruits are given to a Brâhmana. In short, whatever is sought in the next life is to be given to a Brâhmana in this life. The transmigration of souls thus subserves its purpose. The Purânic stories, at once rank and suited to the taste of the people who cannot digest better intellectual food, are told with a vehemence which the preacher can easily assume, and listened to with a zest which is not creditable to the judgment of the masses of India. The Visnu-Purâna exaggerates the powers of the god Visnu and the Linga-Purâna, of Shiva. Their obscenity is disgusting. Modern Mythology does not know the Vedic gods. The heroes of the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata elicit extraordinary interest. But every nationality consists of two strata—one under the influence of Brâmanism and the other under the influence of preachers like Kabîra, Chaitanya, and Tukârâm. The teachers, Nânak and Govind, reformed and recast society in the Panjab, and exerted a great influence on the Brâhmanical natives of Sindha. Kabira preached pure Monotheism in the Gangetic valley, but his influence could form only a sect, for Brâhmanism is strong at Benares, Ayodhyâ, and Mathura. The first is the seat of Shaivism. The second, of the followers of Râma, and Krishna, as they are depicted in the Râmâyana and Bhâgavata-Purâna. They are worshipped in the valleys of the Sarayu and the Jamnâ. Mahomedanism, full of the spirit of animosity against caste and idolatry, acted powerfully on

the susceptible minds of the Panjabis. The Sikha-temple is a mosque. The Grantha Sahiba supplies the place of the Alkuran. The Tanakhâ-nâmâ, a work of ethics and social rules, enjoins five duties upon a Sikha. He ought to make up his turban twice a day. He ought to allow all his hair to grow. He ought to be never without a weapon by his side. He ought to eschew tobacco. He ought never to pass a day without reading the Grantha. He names his child by referring to the Grantha, his scriptures, and substitutes the ceremony of *Pahil* for the investiture of the sacred thread. The doctrines of Kabira are more destructive than constructive. The Bengali has learnt only to shut up his women in his house, and to relax the rules of caste. Mahomedanism taught him this. But in other respects he is under the influence of Brâhmanism. The lower orders worship Hari, and dance, singing his praises. The songs of Chaitanya are recited. The valley of the Mahânadî is occupied by Jagannâth. Caste is disregarded by his followers, so far as his worship is concerned. The spirit of the Purânic Mythology is rampant in Orissa. Moslem influence is strong at Delhi. But the Banias, who declare that they represent the Vaishya caste, show signs of a strong revival, because they muster strong in the streets of Delhi. The natives of Malva are under the influence of Mahomedanism and Brâhmanism. The Gurjars in the valley of the Chambal form an interesting nationality. No Gurjar ever begs. He is ruled over by the Bengali or Gouda Brâhmana. He willingly enlists as a soldier. His complexion is Âryan: his build is strong. He goes at least once

a year on pilgrimage. The natives of Gujarâtha are enslaved by the spirit of Jainism, which is perhaps a modern growth of Buddhism. But *Krisna* as the embodiment of lasciviousness is zealously worshipped. The Vallabhis are powerful. No body can eat animal-food, at least openly in Gujarâtha. The upper classes in Mahârâstra are entirely under the influence of Brâhma*n*ism. Protected from the fanatic Moslems by mountains, Brâhma*n*ism thrived in Mahârâstra, and was fostered by its late Brâhma*n*a rulers. The rites taught in the *G*rihya-Sûtras, the social economy of the Sm*r*itis, the performance of the sixteen sacraments, the four stages of life, and the Purâ*n*ic Theology and idolatry in all its power, characterize the Marâthâs. When Tukâram boldly protested against idolatry, the lower orders seceded from Brâhma*n*ism. But his influence died away. His writings, however, supply the intellectual wants of the lower classes. The Telanga is superstitious, and is a blind follower of Brâhma*n*ism. The Tamils, the Kanadâs, and the Malayals are intellectually sharp, morally indifferent, and though physically strong, are extremely inactive and lethargic. Thus in different centres Brâhma*n*ism is acted upon by Mahomedanism—Brâhma*n*ism, to repeat the remark we have made, being the resultant of the Âryan civilization developed by the *Ri*sis, the Brahmavâdins, and the Âchâryâs and of Buddhism systematically propounded by Gautama Sâkya-Sinha, mystified by Nagârjuna, and popularized by the Shrama*n*as. At present there is complete social and religious national prostration and lethargy in India, awaiting the action of the civilizing influences

of the Western Âryans, the Europeans. The aboriginal races like the Jâts in the Panjab, the Sânthâls in Bengal, the Gonds and Khonds between the valleys of the Godâvarî, and the Mahânadî, the Mahârs and Dheds of Mahârâstra, the Kolis generally on the banks of rivers, and the Bhills in Central India, and the Todors in the Nilgiris,—all these are without the pale, both of the Moslems and the Brâhmanas. Yet they live a strange life, which, though based on both to a certain extent, is regulated by their peculiar customs and manners. Their elevation depends on the civilizing power of the Europeans.

THE END.


A Map of India
ILLUSTRATING
THE RELATIVE BEARING OF MODERN ARYAN
AND TURANIAN
NATIONALITIES
SIKHS
Punjabi
SINDHIS
INDUS
GURAJARS
Rajputas
GURKHAS
Rohilas
SANTHALS
Buddha
Beharis
BENGALEE
Kole
GUJARATHA
BHILLS
KHONDS
URYA
MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
Kole
MARHATTA
TELUGU
CANARIS
MODERN TURANIAN LANGUAGES
LANKA

APPENDICES:

SUMMARIES

taken from the Shaddarshana Chintanikâ, and explanatory of the statements made in this Work.

APPENDIX A.

DESCRIBING THE AGNIṢṬOMA-SACRIFICE REFERRED TO IN THE 15TH PAGE OF THIS WORK.

SUMMARY.

In this Summary the subjects treated of in the last chapter (Pâda) are to be examined from two different points of view—one, philosophical, bearing on exegetics, and the other, historical, bearing on those practices and customs of the ancient Âryas which are introduced into this discussion by way of illustration. Jaimini at first discusses the authoritativeness of the Scriptures recognized by the Âryas, next solves the problem whether the Scriptures are *personal* or *impersonal* in the sense of being revealed by an inspired person or being themselves eternal, and answers the following questions:—What is word? What is the relationship between a word and its sense? Is the sense of a word conveyed to the mind through the medium of a generic name or by means of an individual? What are the senses of the different case-terminations of a noun? How is a sentence formed by putting together a number of words? Why are all the words in a sentence to be connected with its verb?

Why is an action or the verb of a sentence to be considered its principal part, and all its other parts dependent upon it? What is the relationship between the agent in a sentence and its action? And what are the different kinds of sentences? In the first two chapters of the First Book of the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ these problems are investigated, and thus the ground for the discussion of the exegetical methods of proof is prepared. In this chapter their number, their nature, and their bearing, are particularly examined. What are these methods of exegetical proof? A direct statement, an indirect inferential statement, syntactical construction of a sentence, context, the sequence of thoughts or their collocation, and exegetical adjustments. The subject of sequence of thoughts, whether grammatical or logical, is considered along with the subject of the collocation of thoughts. The relative evidential power of these methods of proof is particularly explained in the fourteenth Ṣûtra. In order to pave the way for this explanation, a proposition is laid down in the tenth Sûtra,—a proposition, the exegetical importance of which is great. Different Âchâryas explain the same subject in different ways at different times. Their writings are abundant. We have to recognize them all as authoritative. In like manner, throughout the Vedas the same question is sometimes answered in different ways in different places. Of these different explanations of the same subject or of these different answers to the same question, which explanation or answer is principal and binding? This is the problem to be solved; and it is satisfactorily solved in the tenth Sûtra. We have pointed out the practical bearing of this solution in the foot-note on the same Sûtra. When the Vaidikâchâryas attempted to remove the objections of the Bouddhâchâryas against the Vedas, and to support their own interpretations of Vedic passages by means of different exe-

getical methods of proof, a controversy between the two schools of thinkers necessarily took place. The secret of this controversy is that the customs and practices of the ancient Âryas conflict or seem to conflict, when the doctrine—that the agent of an action is principal and independent—is recognized; and when the exegetical methods of proof such as a direct statement, an indirect statement, and the rest, are applied to the interpretation of the Vedic passages. The Bouddhâchâryas endeavoured to point out particular cases and to demonstrate how the customs of the ancient Âryas conflicted with the injunctions of the Vedas. On the contrary, the Vaidikâchâryas endeavoured to show that there was no conflict between the customs of the Âryas and the injunctions of the Vedas, when an action or the verb of a sentence is considered principal and independent, and when the six methods of exegetical proof are properly applied.

Again, in the course of this controversy some of the sacrificial customs and institutions of the ancient Âryas are referred to, and the relationship between one another is adjusted. We think it necessary to describe these institutions and to explain their nature. When an institution is examined from an historical point of view, three facts deserve special attention—the nature of the institution itself, the circumstances in which it originates, and the philosophical principles by which it is defended, when attacked. The influence of the facts of real life is so universal that no nation or no individual can escape it. The circumstances to which a nation must submit, and through which it has to pass, cannot but affect and mould its history. Their force is so great that they produce a change in the mode of national thought, and in this change in the mode of national thought which produces certain aspirations, social institutions originate—social institutions which are to be met with in every nationality on

the surface of the earth; but the circumstances which are thus the cause of the origin of social institutions are forgotten in process of time. Next the social institutions of a nation are systematically arranged: the relationship between one another is pointed out and explained: and the general rules, according to which the institutions are to be worked, are laid down by national philosophers. The system propounded by philosophers, their explanations, and those general rules which bear on social institutions, and which are recognized and traditionally handed down, constitute the religious code or the Shâstra of a nation. But when the nation degenerates in intellectual power, when its feeling, being blunted, becomes lethargic, and when it thus ceases to possess the power of perceiving the *rationale* of its social institutions, its customs degenerate and cease to awaken the sentiments which they once did. In this stage of the history of a nation customs are blindly followed. We have thus passed a few general remarks upon the different stages of the development of national institutions. We will apply these remarks in the sequel.

The most engrossing institution of the ancient Âryas was a sacrifice, which had developed into a considerable variety; but only two sacrifices represented it and were called model-sacrifices. These were the new or the full moon sacrifice and the Agnis*t*oma. The former is a simple sacrifice, and the latter, a complex one—the one being the model of the other. Any complex sacrifice, like the Agnis*t*oma or like the Vâjapeya based upon it, consists originally of a number of simple sacrifices based upon the new or the full moon sacrifice, which is then the main and ultimate model of all the Âryan sacrifices. We have already described the different parts of the new or the full moon sacrifice, explained its nature, and investigated its rational basis from the historical point of view in the

summary of (II. 2.) of the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ. We will, however, re-produce the main social features of a simple sacrifice. Every respectable Âryа in ancient times possessed a patch of ground which he cultivated. He had a number of cows whom he daily turned out to graze He kept in his house a fire perpetually burning. His was a large patriarchal family consisting sometimes of a hundred individuals—he himself and his wife, his sons, and his daughters-in-law, his grandsons, and grand daughters-in-law, and his great grandsons, and collateral relations dependent upon him. The most engrossing business in the family itself was the family-worship, which consisted in the invocation of Âryan gods and in the offerings of pure milk being thrown into the domestic sacred fire. This was carefully done twice every day, once in the morning, and once in the evening. Once a fortnight on the new and full moon days, a regular simple sacrifice was performed. We have explained the circumstances in which such a simple sacrifice originated, and pointed out the relationship between its different parts, and the pastoral habits of the ancient Âryas. The two kinds of sacrifices, simple and complex, are well-known in the ancient Vedic literature—one as an I*sti* and the other as a Sansthâ. Though a complex sacrifice or Sansthâ consists of a number of simple sacrifices or I*sti*s, the form of the first is independent, because there are many such practices connected with it as are not to be found in the simple sacrifices. Hence as all simple sacrifices are based upon the new or the full moon sacrifice—*the* simple model-sacrifice—so all complex sacrifices or Sansthâs are based upon the Agni*s*toma-sacrifice—*the* complex model-sacrifice. The Bouddhâchârya and the Vaidikâchârya vehemently carried on a controversy about the sacrificial customs of the ancient Âryas—sacrificial customs connected with the Agni*s*toma sacrifice. We, therefore, find it neces-

sary in this summary to investigate the social circumstances and conditions in which the Agnistoma sacrifice originated or rather which necessitated the institution of the Agnistoma sacrifice. We will attempt to explain the different parts of the Agnistoma sacrifice from such an historical stand-point. There is sufficient evidence to state that the home of the ancient Vedic Âryas—their native land—was situated in the north-east of Âriana; and that their antagonists—the ancient Mazdâyasnians, rational sacrificers, the worshippers of Ahuramazda (Asura-medhistha), the ancestors of the modern Parsis—lived in the south-west and in the south of Âriana; because in the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda Sanhitâs the south-west (Nairita and Nirriti) and the south are always condemned as inauspicious; while it is stated in the Zendâ-vestâ that the habitations of the Mazdâyasnians extended to the sea in the south, and that the Âryas in the north-east carried on perpetual war-fare with those in the south and in the south-west. Such war-fare between the Vedic and the Mazdâyasnian Âryas is frequently mentioned in the Zendâ-vestâ, a fact which gives colour to the national songs and folklore of the Vedic Âryas. The Mazdâyasnian Âryas stigmatized the ancient Vedic Âryas as Daevas or bright powers or aggressive warriors. The Vedic Âryas, on the contrary, stigmatized the Mazdâyasnian Âryas as Asuras or as clinging to existence—careful of personal life. After the Vedic Âryas had invaded India, established themselves on the banks of the Jamnâ and the Ganges, conquered the non-Âryas, and lived in luxurious ease, and after they had ceased to have any connection with the Mazdâyasnian Âryas, they often burst into fits of indignation against them, recalled their past quarrels and complacently narrated the stories of the fights between the Devas and the Asuras. Such stories abound in

the Aitareya Brâhmana. The Vedic Âryas gradually became exclusively sacrificial in their customs; while the Mazdâyasnian Âryas often performed sacrifices. The Vedic Âryas still lived a pastoral life; the Mazdâyasnian Âryas had settled as agriculturists. The Vedic Âryas were adventurous, and often penetrated the mountain-fastnesses of their native land, formed themselves into gangs under distinguished leaders, and often over-ran the adjoining tracts of land; they did not particularly seek to build villages, and to possess permanent agricultural enclosures. They possessed cattle, specially cows, preferred dairy-business to agriculture and peaceful arts. They wandered about in the mountains, procured the Soma-plant, extracted its juice and quaffed it merrily in their social gatherings. The Mazdâyasnian Âryas, on the contrary, residing in the south and the south-west, followed agricultural pursuits, and cultivated peaceful arts; they had fixed abodes; they boasted of their landed property, to the acquisition of which they paid particular attention; they possessed orchards; they endeavoured to use as little Soma as possible in their sacrifices; their social polity was so moulded as to fuse the different tribes into one Mazdâyasnian community, following the same customs and obeying the same ruler. Owing partly to their individual habits and inclinations, partly to their tribal arrangements, and partly to their enmity with the Mazdâyasnian Âryas, differing from them in social, religious, and political aspirations—clans of Vedic Âryas, one after another, emigrated from Âriana and entered India. The Âryas, who emigrated, were not a small number. Vishvâmitra at one time sought a home in India with all his followers and with all his clan. In fifty years or more, the clan of the Kanvas followed him. The clan led by Goutama either preceded or followed Kanva. The followers and the clan of Vâmadeva took

perhaps a different route for entering India. The clan of the Bhâradvâjas could not stay at home. The clan of the Âtreyas caught the general contagion of emigration. Thus the different clans of the Âryas entered India by different routes under different leaders and at different times, drove the non-Âryas before them, dispossessed them of their towns and lands, and settled upon their new acquisitions in peace and comfort. It must have taken at least fifty years in the remote ancient times for the news—that a land "overflowing with milk and honey" had been discovered beyond the Indus—to spread among the different Âryan tribes in ancient Arianâ; and at least for a thousand years the Vedic Âryas must have continued to emigrate into the Panjab. Though some stayed behind for a time and resisted the temptation of leaving their native land, saying—"let all these Vasi*stha*s go into a foreign country, let them live in what comfort they can in their new abodes on the banks of the Shatadru (Sutlege), let them toil and drudge their way through the passes and the defiles of Kâmpîla and Gandhâri (Kabul and Kandhahar), we are content with what little bread we can afford, and why should we leave our native land?" Yet these in time found it necessary to give in, and catching the contagion of emigration, departed. The Angirasas, for instance, appear to have thus held out for some time, but they quietly followed the route taken by the Vasi*stha*s before them. In process of time, the Angirasas themselves thus left their native country, and departed in quest of a new land. Up to the times of Pâ*ṇ*ini the distinction between the *native land* (Abhijana) and a *colony* (Nivâsa) was remembered and maintained. See the Sûtras (4. 3, 89-90.) of Pâ*ṇ*ini. As the modern English boast of being born and brought up in their own native country or of being pure Englishmen as distinguished from Anglo-Indians, so the

ancient Âryas boasted of being born and brought up in their own native land or of being nobly born (Abhijâta).

The Agnistoma sacrifice, in our opinion, is an historical symbol of the grand festivities in which the Âryas indulged, when they could not but part with their friends and relations, when they could not but shed tears at leaving behind them their homes, and when their minds could not but be agitated by those feelings which every traveller experiences on the eve of his departure for an unknown distant land. The Agnistoma-sacrifice originated in these circumstances—circumstances, a reference to which rationally explains all its constituent parts. We will describe the different parts of the Agnistoma-sacrifice and offer an explanation. First, the altar for the Agnistoma sacrifice is called the latter (Uttara) Vedi. Special premises (Deva-yajana-desha) are laid out: a bower is erected: the different priests take their seats, and keep their fires in the places assigned to them. In a part of the bower the stock of an Indian fig-tree is fixed into the ground. Out of the bower stand two carts on which the twigs of Soma plants and other offerings are placed when they are taken from the Prâchina-vansha—the first Vedi, the representative of the domestic ancestral hearth—to the latter (Uttara) Vedi, the new or the future hearth. To the north of these carts is the place where the Soma is kept. The seat and the hearth of the Adhvaryu is in the south-east of the bower. The seat and the hearth of the Agnîdhra-priest is in the north-east; and the Uttara Vedi is situated beyond the place of the Soma and of the carts on which the sacrificial provisions, symbolizing the traveller's provisions, are kept. In the west of the bower is the symbol of the ancestral Vedi or the Prâchina-vansha which is erected in the style of the usual Vedi necessary for the new or the full moon sacrifice. And beyond the Uttara Vedi stands the Yûpa, the

symbol of the banner of advance, the top of which (Chasâla) is conspicuous from a distance. Suffice it to remark that when the ancient Âryas travelled from one place to another in their country, or into foreign lands in quest of new settlements, they carried their sacred fire along with them, and when they fixed their abode, they sought accommodation for their sacred fire as well as for themselves and built a sacred hearth, making, in the east, the west, and the south, the three altars characterized as follows—the one in which an offering is to be made (Âhavanîya), the altar of the house-holder or the family-hearth (Gârhapatya), and the altar of the southern fire into which something is thrown to the demons (Daksinâgni). The ancient Âryas preferred the house or the place in which all these conveniences of the sacred fire could be secured. All these statements are more or less based upon Vedic texts. See, for instance, (I. 189, 1.) of the Rigveda-Sanhitâ. The following is its translation. "Oh Agni, take us by a good route for the acquisition of wealth (because) oh god, thou knowest all the marks (of the way). Remove our sufferings (on the way). Let there be no misfortune (Pâpa) of losing our way; often do we bow to thee and pray to thee." A number of such texts can be quoted in support of our statements. See in the sequel the texts about the Prâyanîya-isti or the departure-sacrifice. He who had settled in a new country, and established his fire in his new abode, was, we believe, called a Diksita or one initiated. Before the Agnistoma-sacrifice was performed, the Diksita had to invite a number of priests. Their names are :—Brahmâ, Hotâ, Maitrâvaruna, Adhvaryu, Prastotâ, Upagâtârah or those who kept time and sang with the principal singer, Pratihartâ, Pratiprasthâtâ, Nestâ, Potâ, Achchhâvâka, Agnîdhra, Âtreya, Sadasya, Vrataprada, Grâvastut, Unnetâ, Shamitâ, and Subrahmanya. All these and the house-

holder and his wife gathered together and celebrated the Agnistoma-sacrifice. Why Agnistoma-sacrifice was performed in a particular way, is a question that requires to be examined. A well-known Vedic text states :—"He who desires heaven ought to perform a Jyotistoma-sacrifice." But in the opinion of the Mîmânsakas what is heaven? Heaven—Svarga—is merely a particular kind of happiness. Perhaps the word *Svarga* was originally *Suvarga* as still pronounced by the Taittirîyins, the word *Suvarga* signifying a good settlement. If the system of celebrating a Jyotistoma-sacrifice be considered, it suggests emigration. After the priests were elected, after those that were to assist in the sacrifice were named, after the sacrificial ground was prepared, after sacrificial utensils and other appliances were systematically arranged, the sacrificer performed what is called *Apsudîkshâ*. What is Apsudîkshâ? The house-holder and his wife first bathe in water, then the house-holder is shaved, and the nails of his wife are pared. This is supposed to be her partial shaving. Then both are anointed with butter. All these acts are collectively called Apsudîkshâ. This is the second stage of an Agnistoma-sacrifice, a stage which suggests that the house-holder has broken his connection with the old world or with his native land. The third stage is the Dîksanîyesti. A purodasha or a sacrificial cake is to be prepared, and offerings are to be made in the name of Fire and Visnu. What is the object of the Dîksanîyesti? He who leaves his native country, and departs in quest of a new land, is, as it were, re-born; and of such a new birth a description is given in the Aitareya-Brâhmana. In performing the Dîksanîyesti, all processes of birth are enacted, and the house-holder has to go through them. For instance, he is wrapped up in a cloth, and is thus supposed to be in the womb. This is the form of the Dîksanîyesti.

To proceed, the Dîksita or an Ârya about to leave his native land, had to cover his body with the skin of a black antelope, to arm himself with the horn of a black antelope, to bear on his body a new cloth, and the loins of his wife had to be girded up with a rope of rush-like grass. Such a householder now becomes a complete Dîksita. He is told not to speak untruth, not to talk much, and to observe austerities. Thus dressed, thus armed, and thus advised, an ancient Ârya was prepared for departure. This is the third stage of a Jyotis*t*oma-sacrifice. The fourth stage simply consisted in procuring the means of performing the Agnis*t*oma-sacrifice—a religious feast which every Ârya on the eve of his departure had to give. What were these means? He had to procure some gold, some silver, pieces of cloth, cows, a horse, a goat, and a ram. This was called the acquisition of materials or means. The Prâyan*î*yes*t*i or the Prâyan*î*ya simple sacrifice is essentially symbolical of departure. In connection with it offerings of clarified butter and of boiled rice are thrown into the fire. What is the principal god of this simple sacrifice? The answer to this question establishes the explanation of the Jyotis*t*oma-sacrifice we give. The god is none other than *peace-on-the-way, a happy-journey, adieu* (Pathyâ-svasti). Thus the *journey* is begun. Let it be marked that *Pathyâ-svasti* is *peace-on-the-way, quiet-on-the way;* that this is the god of the Prâyan*î*yes*t*i; and that, therefore, this part of the Jyis*t*oma-sacrifice pre-eminently symbolizes departure. The Mantras chaunted in connection with this simple sacrifice support our explanation. See the verses (X. 63, 15-16.) of the *Ri*g-Veda-Sanhitâ. The translation of these Mantras is:—"Keep us safe in our journey through waterless wilds. Keep us safe in our voyage and in jolly battles. Keep us safe in the place where our children grow (in our colonies). Oh Marutas, keep us safe when acquiring

wealth." "While going into distant countries, keep us in peace abounding in wealth. That safety which takes us to a happy country, let that very safety protect our abodes in the wilderness, and let that safety be ours which procures us a place to live in, and which is protected by gods." Such are the Mantras chaunted by the priests even at the present day. This is the fifth stage of the Jyotistoma-sacrifice. Next comes what is called walking (Padacharyâ). A cow walks first, and the house-holder follows her, and at the seventh step she goes, a line is drawn with a wooden sword and a little clarified butter is poured upon the line. The Mantra which the sacrificer chaunts on this occasion deserves particular attention. Its translation is:—"The demon (Raksas) is enclosed within a line or is furrowed around. (Our) foes are furrowed around. Thus I cut the throat of the demon. He who is our enemy, his enemy we are. This his throat I cut off." This Mantra thus indignantly pronounced concludes what is called walking or Padacharyâ. This is the sixth stage of a Jyotistoma-sacrifice. To proceed, the Soma-plant is to be purchased. It is necessary to explain why the Âryas under the circumstances bought Soma particularly, and why they particularly treated it with fondness or affection. In the country into which they emigrated, Soma could not be easily had. It was with great difficulty procured by a people called Gandhâri (natives of the district of ancient Kandâhâra). There were different kinds of Soma, but that which grew upon a mountain called Mûjavat was the best. The Soma-plant of the Mûjavat mountain grew in importance in proportion as it could not be easily procured. Hence at the time of leaving their native land, and departing into a land where the Soma could not be had, they procured a great deal of Soma and enjoyed a feast with their friends and relatives, and thus

in one sense took final leave of their beloved Soma itself. This was natural. If we describe this Soma-feast, it will be seen whether the explanation we offer of a Jyotistoma-sacrifice is sufficiently rational or not. After the purchase of Soma, it was treated with hospitality. This is the Atithyâ-simple sacrifice. After the house-holder obtained the Soma, he places it in his lap. Madhuparka was offered to Soma respectfully seated as if it were some rich guest. Mounted on a cart, the Soma-creeper was brought to the house-holder, and when taken down, it was placed on a wooden stand. In the course of this simple sacrifice, *Atithyesti*, the Mantra (I. 91, 19.) of the *Ri*g-Veda-Sanhitâ was chaunted as the Soma was carried forward. The following is its translation. "Thy houses which rejoice in making offerings are all able to perform sacrifices unto thee. Enough. Thou, increaser of the family, thou, great warrior, (who takes us over into foreign countries); Oh Protector of children and grand-children, Oh Soma, come now (with us) to our new houses." In this Mantra the terms *Dhamâ* and *Durya* are used in the sense of a house; but the term *Dhamâ* signifies one's own house in his native place; and the term *Durya*—literally signifying that which is inaccessible—is a house not yet possessed; but which is to be possessed; while the term *yoni* meant a new settlement. Such an adjustment of the senses of the terms, signifying a house and used in the *Ri*g-Veda-Sanhitâ, appears to us to be necessary and rational. The Atithyâ-sacrifice or the sacrifice for showing hospitality to the Soma-plant is thus concluded. This is the seventh-stage. The eighth stage consists in the performance of the Prachâra. What is the Tânûnaptra-prachâra? It symbolizes a compact of the whole clan of the blood-relations—literally *of the grand-children through the body*. It consists in all the officiating

priests, taking an oath to support one another in the performance of the Jyotistoma-sacrifice, and to abide by one another—the officiating priests who were perhaps the priests and representatives of different families constituting a clan. All these priests came together, swore by milk, and solemnly stated that they would never forsake one another. This is the eighth stage of a Jyotistoma-sacrifice. This was followed by what is called the Râjâpyâyana consisting in sprinkling water upon the Soma twigs secured. The object of this was to keep the Soma-twigs wet and fresh. This is the ninth stage of a Jyotistoma-sacrifice. This was followed by what is called *Ninhava*, consisting in all the priests folding up their hands and making a bow to the earth and heavens. The oath—*Tânûnaptra*—the sprinkling of water—(*Apyâyana*) and the bow to the earth and heavens (*Ninhava*)—all these follow one anther in order and indicate that state of mind which cannot but be produced at the time of the emigration of a clan. The oath not to forsake one another in their journeyings, the wetting of the Soma-twigs that they might last long, and the bow to the universal earth and sky with a prayer unto them to receive the emigrating clan (*Ninhava*) literally meaning perfect concealment)—all these doubtless point to emigration; because Tânûnaptra, Apyâyana and *Ninhava* follow in order, and admit of but one interpretation—they are symbols of those feelings which emigration in view excites. This is the tenth stage. The next stage is the Pravargya-sacrifice. This is the eleventh stage. It is performed twice, once in the morning and once in the evening. Between and after the Pravargyas, the Upasad-sacrifices are performed. This is the twelfth stage. Two pegs are driven into the ground to which a cow, a sheep and her kids, about to be turned out to graze, are tied. Two altars are raised upon which fires are kindled,

a vessel consisting of three bowls so constructed as if piled upon one another, is called the *Mahâvîra*. It is made of earth, in it milk of a cow and of sheep are mixed up and heated. It does not matter much if the mixture be heated and burnt off, for under these circumstances clarified butter is substituted for it and offered; but if it be not totally burnt off in the vessel, what remains is offered to a god. What is the object of performing such a ceremony as the Pravargya? Etymologically, the term Pravargya, being derived from the verbal root *Vrij* to abandon, means that which is to be abandoned. The Pravargya- sacrifice, therefore, symbolizes the abandonment of one's own native country. The Upa-sad-sacrifices mentioned symbolize securing a temporary residence. Such is the object, we believe, of performing these two sacrifices. The following is the purport of the Mantras chaunted on these occasions :—"Oh Agni, do not kill me; oh earth, protect me; oh air, protect me; oh Sun, do not kill me." Such prayers are not offered whimsically or for nothing. Hard circumstances alone can justify their being offered up. What other circumstances are harder and more trying than those in which a human being—attached to his *home* and clinging to it with all his heart and with those sympathies which are generated by second nature—habits of man—is compelled to forsake his beloved *home* and native country for emigration into a foreign land? The Mantra used in praise of the *Pravargya*-sacrifice occurs in the *Rig*-Veda-Sanhitâ (II. 164, 31.). Its translation is :—"A cow-herd not staying in one place for a moment near and remote, wandering by (various) paths, shining by (all the beauties) about and with him, (such a one) wanders frequently in this world, him have I seen." There is another Mantra. It occurs in the *Rig*-Veda-Sanhitâ (VI. 58, 1.). Its translation is :—"Thy form by day is one

thy form by night is another. Such (are) thy various forms. Thou art like the heavens; these are different kinds of knowledge about thee. Naturally thou protectest us. Oh Sun, grant us a gift—(likely) to benefit us in this place." In the first Mantra the Sun is described as a wanderer from place to place; and in the last Mantra the Sun is described as assuming different forms. The Mantras express the feelings which a poet naturally poured out in his journeyings. The next is the thirteenth stage. It is named Vedi-karaṇa. All the acts up to this stage are performed in the ancestral hearth called the Prâchina-vansha or the first hearth. What is the Prâchina-vansha? It is that hearth in which the domestic fire is kept perpetually burning—that hearth at which the whole family daily worshipped its fire—that domestic hearth which consists of three fire-places—that of the house-holder (Gârhapatya), that in which a sacrifice is to be offered (Âhavanîya), and that in which offerings are to be made to demons (Dakṣiṇâgni). Such an ancestral hearth is symbolized by the Prâchina-vansha. Such an ancestral hearth is to be now abandoned. The Uttara-Vedi symbolizes a sojourn in a forest. The Uttara-vedi is constructed to the east of the ancestral hearth. As the Uttara-Vedi is built to the east of the ancestral hearth or Prâchina-vansha, the term Prâchina cannot signify the east. Hence the term Prâchîna must mean ancient or ancestral. In short, they fixed a post to the east of the Uttara-Vedi, and upon it was placed an ornamental top. This post was the centre of an animal-sacrifice. The animal to be sacrificed was brought to this post, and tied to it; at this post some ceremonies were performed upon the animal, then it was killed, then its flesh was taken out, it was cooked, and the parts of the animal to be offered into Agni were consecrated; then they were offered into Agni, and the rest were laid aside as food for the priests,

while officiating at the sacrifice. Two other animals were also killed, and treated in the same manner. The one being the animal connected with the squeezing of the Soma—*Savaniya-pashu* and the other, the animal called *Anubandhya*, to be bound and slaughtered after the other two. All these three animals are to be killed at different times during the sacrifice; a part of the flesh is to be offered into Agni, and a part, to be laid aside as food. A place called *Uparava* is specially prepared for extracting the Soma-juice. Jars of the Soma-juice are taken, and a portion of the Soma-juice from each jar is to be sacrificed, then water is sprinkled upon the Soma-plant, and a large quantity, of the Soma-juice is extracted; a number of different jars are taken, and filled with the Soma-juice, then it is offered into the sacred fire. In offering this Soma-juice, particular attention is paid to a system, to an order and to a sequence which need not be described here. To be brief, at this stage of the sacrifice, dual-gods are to be invoked, and unto them the Soma-juice is to be offered. All these rites are characterized as the processes of the Soma-jar—(Graha-prachâra). During these processes, Sâma-vedins sing, the Hotâ vehemently chaunts Mantras: portions of the Soma-juice are offered into the sacred fire: in the mean time, those that are engaged in the sacrifice, drink Soma at intervals. There is a system according to which different priests drink the Soma-juice from the same cup. This is called Samâkhyâ. This is the way of the Âryas showing mutual love and sympathy. These are the thirteenth and fourteenth stages of the Jyotis*t*oma-sacrifice. When all these different ceremonies are completed, the ancestors of the sacrificer are remembered, and balls of boiled rice are offered to them. This is the fifteenth stage. Next, what is called the latter end of the Jyotis*t*oma-sacrifice is performed. It is

called the tail of a sacrifice. This is the sixteenth stage. In this connection, the Udayaniya-*isti* is performed. The Udayanîya-*isti* is a sacrifice of rising up or of progress. The god invoked in this sacrifice is *safety on the way* (*Pathyâ-svasti*), and the heavens. This sacrifice is performed in the same way as the Prâyan*î*ya-sacrifice or the sacrifice of departure already mentioned, according to which only the dwelling house was abandoned, and all those, who intended to emigrate, are turned out into a plain. Yet till the ceremony of eating flesh and drinking the Soma-juice lasted, the real emigrants did not actually separate themselves from their friends and acquaintances,—those who had grown up with them. Those who had entered into a compact and were prepared to emigrate, advanced and left their friends behind them. Thus the ancient Âryas, bands after bands of the same clans, guided by their leaders, left their native land and emigrated—a dreadful occasion which could not but stir up the deepest feelings of the human heart. But the ancient Âryas were destined to see it. So some departed to the East in quest of a new land, some to the West; while some descended into the Panjab. We have made this statement because it is mentioned in the Aitareya-Brâhman*a* in connection with the Prâyan*i*ya-*isti* that the rivers flow to the West. The interpretation as given in the Aitareya-Brâhman*a* (1. 13.) of the Mantra of the *Rig*-Veda-Sanhitâ (VIII. 42, 3.) deserves to be seen. Its translation is :—"Oh god Varun*a*, impart to thy disciples knowledge and teach sagacity and art to cross those boisterous waters in happiness, let us get into ships and let us cross over in happiness." In the fourteenth Khan*d*a the care, which the Âryas took in not allowing their sons and grandsons to be scattered, is described. In the nineteenth Khan*d*a the term râ*s*trii which signifies a small settlement or its

female possessor is interpreted into speech, and it is stated in connection with the Jyotistoma-sacrifice that a râstrî is to be put into the Pravargya. This cannot but mean that by means of Pravargya or departure from the native land, râstrî or a small settlement or authority over it is to be secured. At the time of performing the ceremony of Agni-pranayana, which consists in removing the sacred fire from the ancestral hearth to the new sacrificial ground or the Uttara-Vedi, the sacred fire is placed at the gate of the bower of the new sacrificial ground or the Uttara-vedi, and the emigrants cast a glance of affection at the ancestral hearth perhaps for the last time; as yet the arduous journey is not begun. Even now our countrymen, before they begin a journey, ceremoniously cast a glance at the door-way of their own house, a custom which indicates that state of the mind which deserves the special attention of the reader. To leave one's own house produces much grief. The threshold of a door-way is characterized as a pass or defile by those who go on a distant journey. The ancient Âryas took the sacred fire with them wherever they travelled: they also took with them twigs of the Soma plant, hence the Soma plant and the sacred fire are described as *knowing paths* in the Rig-Veda-Sanhitâ, about which see (III. 62, 63.). Its translation is:—"Soma knows the way: he goes and arrives at a settlement of the righteous, the seat prepared for gods." See also the Rig-Veda-Sanhitâ (IX. 46, 5.). Its translation is:—"Oh Soma, thou obtainer of wealth by conquest, thou who takest (people) to much wealth. Oh thou Soma, who showest us the way, flow." See also (VIII. 103, 1.) of the Rig-Veda-Sanhitâ. Its translation is:—"That Agni who knows the way thoroughly (gâtu-vittama), and in whom the Âryas placed all their rites—(that is, suspended all their rites while journeying): that Agni is seen: unto that Agni who in-

creases the Âryas, that is, prospers them, and who is well produced, that is, the sacred Agni, let our praises go." Such Mantras alone, when properly interpreted, show what the origin of the Jyotis*t*oma sacrifice is, and what the circumstances of that origin were. The new and full moon sacrifices and the Agnis*t*oma-sacrifice are the models of all the sacrifices whether simple or complex. It has already been stated that these model sacrifices are distinguished from their modifications. Thus the reader will be able to perceive why we have so carefully discussed the origin and the nature of the Jyotis*t*oma-sacrifice. We have stated that national institutions originate in the circumstances, which affect national interests and move national feelings—distressing circumstances which make a special impression and call out the commemorative instinct of man. Thousands of years ago, the Vedic Âryas, when in their native-land, were placed in such circumstances. They were compelled to emigrate, and this fact produced the institution of the Agnis*t*oma-sacrifice. Every national institution passes through different states of development. In the first state—in the circumstances of its origin—the institution is pure, and instinct with the feelings which originate it; then it is undefiled. Such was the condition of the Agnis*t*oma-sacrifice when the Âryas entered the Panjab. It was then mobile and unfixed. Every thing about it was indefinite. But when all its parts were performed, and the commemorative sacrifice was satisfactorily accomplished, every Âryan house-holder felt elated and satisfied. Such was the condition of the Âryas at least about 6,000 of years ago. They had much energy, ambition and power. Hence their bards composed new hymns, and each bard praised his god in his own words as he liked. This is the first form of a national institution.

The second form is that which is fixed by discussion among scholars who cannot realize the circumstances of the origin of an institution, but whose intellects seek to define it. The Aitareya and Tittirîya Brâhmaṇas abound with such discussions. It is under these circumstances that the rules for regulating a national institution are laid down, that its form is fixed, that the number of men who are to assist in its performance is also fixed, and their duties, defined. Its procedure is carefully regulated so that no deviation from it may be permitted. The least deviation necessitates a penance. Not a straw can be moved or placed in connection with such an institution, but with care and anxiety for attending to the very letter of the rules about it. When a nation begins to perform its rights and maintain its institutions without perceiving their spirit and merely in a ritualistic way, it will be seen that the nation under these circumstances has lost independence of mind, its spirit and its power. This is the distinction between the first and second forms of a national institution. Because the form is now and then slightly altered, though after much obstinate discussion, (such discussions being given at length in the Aitareya-Brahmaṇa), the national institution has not completely stagnated. There is again the third form of such national institutions as the Agnistoma sacrifice. When their spirit and their significance are completely forgotten, no discussion whatever about the origin, the appliances, the performances, and fruitfulness of such institutions is tolerated. The whole nation does not understand why such institutions are maintained, and when its leaders are searchingly asked about the reasonableness of the rites they perform, they simply state :—"Such are our national customs. We do what our ancestors have done before us. The nation under these circumstances begins to feel that

there is something mysterious about the rites it performs—something that has the power of a spell in proportion as clouds of ignorance settle upon it and enclose it. They believe that some extraordinary fruit is produced when they follow their national customs blindly but anxiously and carefully. They apprehend some extraordinary calamity if they should deviate least from established customs. The third form of national institutions is developed when society begins to believe that it is really decrepit, that it is unable to turn even a pebble, that it does not possess the power of understanding the dicta and the dogmas of their ancestors, that it is a sin to discuss them, that it should not alter any national institution but hand it down to its children as it has been handed down to it, that it does not matter much if its rites and institutions conflict with the scriptures it recognizes, and the religious principles it upholds, and that he who dissents from the whole nation rationally is an infidel to be condemned. In times like these a class of rational dissenters necessarily springs up, a class which investigates the basis of its beliefs, and not daunted by the powers of blind tradition, boldly attacks those whose beliefs and practices appear to them irrational. Such rational dissenters were the Bouddhâchâryas who carried on an intricate, elaborate, and a searching controversy with Vaidikâchâryas, those champions of blind tradition, who could not allow their opponent to justify their doctrines, and establish them among the common people, and thus influence society, but who came forward to defend their own doctrines and principles that their hold upon the common people might not be shaken. When the Bouddhâchâryas and the Vaidikâchâryas were opposed to one another in the way the system of the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ-controversy discloses, Bud-

dhism was not a powerful system, nay, it was hardly a system known to, and recognized by, the people. A few learned scholars in the Âryan schools of these times showed an intellectual uneasiness and boldly dissented from those around them. Discussion was the result. Such discussions were carried on at least for two or three hundred years within the halls of Âryan-schools of the Âchârya-period before the position of the Bouddhachârya could be definitely stated to the common people in their common language, and before the sympathies of the common people could be enlisted. At last the crisis came; society was divided into two sections opposed to one another. Then Goutama Buddha was born. While the religious institutions of the Âryas passed through the three distinctive stages and developed the three distinctive forms which we have already indicated, the Âryan society passed through corresponding changes in their political condition, in their social economy, in their domestic arrangements, and in their intellectual and moral stamina. Suffice it to observe that the description of all these changes would cover a large field of the history of the ancient Âryas. We will point out, as occasion arises, how such sacrificial institutions as the Agnistoma were enlarged and adapted to the condition of the Âryas during the different periods of their history. It is sufficient to state that the Agnistoma, as we have described it here, is the sacrifice when it was in its first stage and first form, and that it is simply absurd to believe that such an elaborate institution, as the Agnistoma, came into existence without adequate social and economical causes; we have, therefore, discussed at length the question of the causes of the Agnistoma-sacrifice. We have laid before the reader such informations as we have been able to collect, and explained to him the points of contrast and resemblance between the bearings of the Agnistoma-sacrifice

and the economic condition of the ancient Âryas. We have made bold to draw the conclusion that the Agnistoma-sacrifice symbolizes the feast of flesh and Soma given by the emigrants to their fellow-country-men, and that it represents the feelings which cannot but stir the inmost recesses of the mind, when Âryan clans departed from their native land never to return, and separated from other clans, never to re-join them. We have placed our theory with its explanation before the reader that it may be examined.

APPENDIX B.

DESCRIBING THE NEW AND FULL MOON SACRIFICES REFERRED TO IN THE 17TH PAGE OF THE WORK.

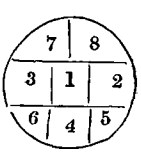
SUMMARY.

The subjects discussed in this chapter and the important considerations urged on the attention of the reader deserve an examination. There were two schools of thought at the time of Jaimini:—the one consisted of the followers of the Vedic polity and the other, of the Buddhistic. The latter opposed the former and endeavoured to controvert their doctrines and to subvert their polity, advancing a variety of arguments. The question—what is the Vedic polity—requires to be answered before the arguments of the Buddhists can be examined. Three classes or orders of people, —the Brâhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Vaishya, are well-known in the Vedic literature. But these orders then could dine together as well as intermarry. Their domestic and social institutions were the same. The Bouddhâchâryas attack the domestic institutions among which the Agnihotra or the worship of the domestic fire occupied the pre-eminent place. Among the social institutions the Soma-sacrifice and the Sattras or the sacrificial sessions are to be reckoned. What is the Âgnihotra or the worship of the domestic fire? and why should the Vaidikâchâryas obstinately defend it? and why should the Buddhists as obstinately seek to controvert it? We shall briefly answer the questions that the drift of the discussion in this chapter may be

easily understood. The Âryan community consisted of the Brâhmanas, Ksatriyas, and Vaishyas, who were equally entitled to the worship of fire, whether at home or in their social gatherings. As soon as an Ârya was married, he had to establish a sacred fire in his house. At first there was only one hearth. Gradually two more hearths were added to it. According to the system of Kâtyâyana, the three hearths were developed into five. At first there was only one officiating priest. Gradually as three sacred hearths were required, four priests were appointed. As times changed, instead of four, sixteen, nay more than sixteen priests officiated at a sacrifice. This is the history of the sacrifices of the ancient Âryas in India—a history which deserves to be particularly investigated and on which we shall enter as occasion arises. Many sacrifices are still well-known. Even now such sacrifices as the Vâjapeya and Soutrâmani are performed in towns like Poona. But the fundamental sacrifice is Agnihotra—a sacrifice which is equally acceptable to the Risis, to the Brahmavâdinas, and to the Âchâryas. After the ceremonious establishment of the sacred fire, every Ârya considered it to be an inmate of his household. He asked his gods to come to his hearth through the sacred fire and believed that whatever offerings, he made into the sacred fire, were received by his gods. He took his seat near the hearth and sang the glories of his sacred fire and spoke of his subtle form, of his aqueous form, of his presence in plants, or in the bodies of men, and of its universality. The Âryas called Agni by a particular name according to the particular conception at the time when he was described. Particular care was taken to see that it was never extinguished. In case of its being accidentally put out, the whole household felt a sort of confusion, for it was essential to offer into the sacred fire bits of wood of

particular dimensions every morning and evening. At this time the master of the house and his wife and children chaunted certain well-known hymns. Then prayers were made. Such a worship of fire was performed in the house of every Ârya, whether he was a Brâhmaṇa, a Ksatriya or a Vaishya. There was considerable rejoicing in the family every morning and evening when the sacred bits of wood were offered into the fire. Such a simple worship was continued from day to day for a fortnight. Twice in a month—on the new-moon-day and full-moon-day, the sacred fire was worshipped in a particular way, the new-moon and full-moon oblations being offered. This ceremony was performed every fortnight with feelings of great exultation. The spiritual element, however, was not neglected, for repentance for the sins committed knowingly or unknowingly during the fortnight was expressed, special care being taken in performing the preliminary purificatory rite. Having bathed and cleaned the body, the sacrificer invited priests affectionately and in faith, and with their aid, he performed the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices. Every Ârya was not able to perform the new-moon sacrifice in the same way. Those Âryas, who had had the means of performing the grand Soma-sacrifice, and who could afford to keep at least six wet cows, were considered respectable and performed the new-moon sacrifice on a grand scale; while the rest of the Âryas performed the fortnightly sacrifices in an ordinary way, inasmuch as it was not necessary for them to possess six wet cows. But one thing specially deserves attention. However rich an Ârya may be, whatever the means of luxury he may possess, however slender and fond of high life his wife may be, yet once every fortnight either on the new-moon-day or full-moon-day, the luxurious Ârya and his slender wife made up their minds and dispensed with high life, for every Ârya was

required by his religion to go on foot to a jungle, to gather the sacrificial fuel, to tie it up in a bundle, to take it on his head and to bring it home to his house. Then out of the grass he made seats and a small broom, and consecrated the sacrificial fuel. To soft and luxurious seats used by him every day, he now preferred deer-skins. He took up ordinary cooking utensils and disposed them ceremoniously on the altar. The lord and the lady of the house prepared a sacrificial cake for the fire, very great care being taken to act up to the principles of the religious life they lived every fortnight. They could not sit down or stand up but in a particular way sanctioned by the sacrificial code. The sacrificial cake was not prepared in any way. First, the rice, out of which the cake was made, was consecrated and this was called a Nirvâpa. Next, they were pounded and ground with a muller by the sacrificer himself. The flour thus prepared was kneaded and made into a ball. The eight potsherds were then arranged as shown in the accompanying figure. The figures show the order in which the potsherds were taken, a potsherd being a piece of a brick not taken at random but of the size and shape as shown in the figure. When all the eight potsherds were arranged on the fire, they formed a circular ring. On these potsherds the flour was patted into the form of a tortoise, and thus the sacrificial cake called Puroḍâsh was prepared. It was taken off from the potsherds and cut up into bits, each bit being called an Avadâna on which clarified butter was poured. This process was called Âghara. Before the main offerings consisting of the bits of this sacrificial cake were thrown into the sacred fire, simple clarified butter was poured into it. These offerings were called the Pancha Prayâjas. Clarified butter was now offered to all



the gods. These offerings were called Âjyabhâgas. Next, the bits of the Purodâsh were separately offered to the gods Agni, Vishnu, Agnîsoma, and Indra-Vaimridha, these being the principal gods of the new-moon or full-moon sacrifice. Next, clarified butter was poured in the name of all the gods collectively. This offering was called Svistakrit. Next three offerings consisting of clarified butter called Anuyâja were made. Next, verses from the Rik-Sanhitâ known as Sûktavâk and Shanyuvâk were chaunted. Offerings of clarified butter were thrown into the fire in the name of the goddesses, to respect whose modesty a curtain was hung up between the sacred fire and the sacrificer and the officiating priests. When the offerings were made to the fire, the verses were to be recited gently and softly. These eight offerings were called Patnîsanyajâs or the offerings of the wife or wives. This was the order in which the new-moon or full-moon sacrifice was performed. The respectable Ârya, who had already performed the Soma-sacrifice and whose social status was recognized, had to add the following in the performance of the new-moon or full-moon sacrifice:—He had to turn out his six cows for grazing in the wilds, their calves being separated from them and tied. He had to do the dairy-man's business such as making the milk into curds. We shall have to speak particularly of the new moon and full-moon sacrifices as occasion arises. Suffice it to remark here that once every fortnight when the full or new moon sacrifice was performed, the wife of the sacrificer prepared herself—having girded up her loins with a rope made of grass and called Yoktra and laid aside her tenderness and high life—and lived a religious and simple life for the sake of the sacred fire. Again the sacrificer diverted his mind from the affairs of the State, from politics or from warlike ambition or from commercial concerns, assumed the garb

of a simle peasant, went into a forest for collecting sacrificial fuel and for gathering sacrificial grass, made them into a bundle, placed it on his head and walked home, and all this for the sake of the sacred fire. The officiating priest chaunted the Vedic verses and offered into the sacred fire clarified butter or the portions of the sacrificial cake. Whatever the social position of the Âryan sacrificer and his wife, once a fortnight they lived a simple religious life, gathering fuel or grinding corn. This is the secret of the new or full moon sacrifice, the basis of the Vedic polity—a polity, of which the Vaidikâchâryas were naturally proud, and to which they attached special importance. The Buddhists differed from the Vaidikâchâryas in-as-much as they condemned all sacrifices. How is this to be explained? The Vaidikâchâryas attached importance to this life and spiritualized it away by means of representing it in sacrifices. The Buddhists, on the contrary, condemned this life and its pleasures. In performing a sacrifice the Âryas often prayed:—"Oh may we obtain worldly glory, may warlike sons be born of us, may our daughters be wedded to warriors, may we triumph in our wars, and may we rejoice in all our worldly affairs." The Buddhists, on the contrary, congregated in their convents and habitually said:—"This world is full of misery, man ought to subdue his passions and desires and eradicate them. He ought to give up the world and its pleasures, and betake himself to a wilderness. Of what good are the children? Of what good are all the troubles of this life —*cui bono*? Self-abnegation is the means of all happiness. He, who has overcome the desires of his mind, has emancipated himself from the power of all accident. The highest duty of man is to abstain from giving pain to animals in any way. To be absorbed in contemplation is the highest happiness. To be free from the trammels of this life while

living, is the highest human ambition. To know that this world is a delusion, is true knowledge—the means of accomplishing the highest human ambition." They often sighed and said:—"Ah! The miseries of this life! Oh! May the day come when we shall be free from birth as well as from death," Their motto was Vîtarâgâh Niranjanâh, which means *free from passions, above accidents.* They endeavoured to be delivered from the miseries of this world and to obtain the state of Nirvâna or final emancipation. Thus in every respect, the Vaidikâchâryas and the Buddhistic Âchâryas contrasted. We have pointed out this contrast that the scope of the discussions of the Mîmânsâ may be perceived by the reader. The Vaidikâchâryas considered a sacrifice to be the means of all happiness in this life as well as in the life to come. They were incessantly intent on securing the pleasures of this life. Hence they attached special importance to the performance of a sacrifice. The Buddhists considered a sacrifice to be the means of giving pain to animals (Hinsâ) and, therefore, insisted upon condemning this life, and, therefore, condemned a sacrifice: Thus differing from one another, the Vaidikâchâryas and the Bouddhâchâryas divided society. The Vaidikâchâryas sought earnestly to defend their sacrifices: the Buddhists obstinately sought to controvert them. All discussion came necessarily to be focused in the Agnihotra-sacrifice which is the foundation of the Vedic sacrificial system. The Vaidikâchâryas maintained that a sacrifice produced righteousness, characterized as something extraordinary and considered as an intermediate cause which connected the sacrifice with its fruit. It need not be mentioned that an extraordinary cause or righteousness must be based on an original or (Apurva) statement of the Vedas. Hence the subject of original statements was vehemently discussed and

resulted in the question whether a whole sacrifice produced an extraordinary principle or whether the different acts constituting a sacrifice produced different extraordinary principles. In this connection the nature of co-ordinate sentences is examined—an examination which resulted in the discussion of such questions as the following :—Does an offering of the sacrificial fuel into the sacred fire produce the extraordinary principle or not ? Does the offering accompanied by verses to be repeated as in a whisper (Upânshuyâga) produce the extraordinary principle or not ? Does the animal-sacrifice or the Soma-sacrifice produce the extraordinary principle or not ? In answering these questions the nature of the following is also defined—an original statement in general, an original statement of a quality, the distinction between the first and the last, the necessity of enumerating the essential marks in the case of the definition of an original statement, the adjustment of the exegetical bearing of the principal verb in a sentence in its relation to subordinate verbs used in describing the same subject, the relationship between two such sentences as the following :—"He should sacrifice an Agnihotra : he should sacrifice with curds," or the relation between the principal and an accessory sentence, the divison of a sentence or the division of actions as originating in conventional names or in the difference of gods, the fruit of singing such hymns as the Vâravantîya as determined by the descriptions of the hymns themselves in some place or by the cadence of these hymns as described in other places of the Vedas, the relation between the psalms and their cadence,—these were the subjects which the Vaidikâchâryas and Bouddhâchâryas discussed—the former endeavouring to vindicate the statements of the Vedas and the latter to controvert them. The reader will see whether the arguments of the first or the last are

cogent and conclusive. To us it appears that the Vaidikâchâryas understood exegetical logic better than the Buddhists, but the principles on which the Buddhists based their statements, were more rational. The reader will also see which of the two statements deserves to be accepted—whether active life for securing the pleasures and happiness of this world is the highest human ambition or the abdication of the world and its pleasures and condemnation of active life and its toils and troubles, spiritual quietude being preferred as the highest human ambition, and whether the Buddhists or the Vaidikâchâryas deserve to be recognized. Before we conclude the summary, it is necessary to draw the attention of the reader to some points practically important. We observed in the foot-note on the tenth Sûtra that a subordinate statement may be made in one recension of Veda and that its principal statement may occur in another, and that the two may be connected as a quality and the qualified. This proposition of the Mîmânsakas has an important practical bearing on the present social economy of the Hindus, because all the recensions of the Vedas as they are mentioned in a work called the Charana-Vyûha are not to be found, as many have become extinct. And without depending on the extinct recensions, some social non-Vedic and corrupt practices cannot be supported by a legitimate sanction. Under these circumstances, the leaders of religious thought are compelled to admit that the social customs as they obtain in the country deserve to be recast. This subject, therefore, deserves special attention. Hence Jaimini discusses it fully in the fourth chapter of this book. Again ; in the foot-note on the 24th Sutra, it is stated that the Âchâryas divided the Vedic works and named their parts in reference to their subject-matter. The question was—what is the value of the names thus given by the Âchâryas to the parts of the Vedas so far as their binding power is concerned ? The

Mîmânsakas call the names Samâkhyâ, and believe that their evidential power is small as they are mere non-Vedic and popular. Jaimini recurs to this subject and examines it fully in the sequel.

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THE OPINIONS OF THE PRESS AND OF SCHOLARS ON THE *SADDARSHANA* CHINTANIKÂ OR STUDIES IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.*

(ENGLAND).

CHATEAU MOLLENS,
MORGES,
SWITZERLAND,
21st June 1877.

I am delighted with your work, and I hope and trust you will be able to continue it. * * * * But to the scholar the Pûrva-Mimânsâ is of great interest, and I have always thought that we wanted a native Indian scholar to translate and properly interpret it. It is so full of allusions to Yajnika matters, which are familiar to your Shrotriyas, but of which we in Europe have a very vague and indistinct conception. You have on the other side a great difficulty to contend with, viz., to find English terms exactly corresponding to Sanskrit philosophical terms. An exact correspondence of Sanskrit and English technical terms is almost impossible, but sometimes a nearer approach might have been possible. * * * * To me those Mimânsaka-discussions are extremely attractive, and for accuracy of reasoning they have no equal anywhere. * * * * Your journal will be most gratefully received by Sanskrit scholars in Europe, and I beg you to put down my name as one of your subscribers.

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* The copies can be had from the Office of the Journal at Poona, House No. 641, Sadâshiva Peṭha.

OXFORD, *April 27th*, 1877.

I have great pleasure in bearing testimony to the merits of Mr.———'s monthly publication called "*Sa*ddarshana-Chintanikâ," the first two numbers of which have reached me here. Mr.———is an able Sanskrit scholar and has a profound acquaintance with the six schools of Indian Philosophy. His magazine will be eminently useful and his labours deserve the support and encouragement of all scholars and of all who are interested in the welfare of India and in the promotion of a better knowledge of Indian habits of thought.

MONIER WILLIAMS, M.A., M.R.A.S.,
Hon. D. C. L. of the University of Oxford,
Hon. Doctor in Law of the University of Calcutta, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford.

———has handed to me two copies of No. 1 of the *Sa*ddarshana-Chintanikâ. I shall be glad to take six copies of this monthly publication.

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.

THE ACADEMY.

30*th June* 1877.

"IT is encouraging to note the evidence which this undertaking affords of the increased interest taken by native scholars in their standard works; and the text and commentary, if completed, cannot fail to be of abiding value to scholars. On this ground, we wish the editor success in his rather bold adventure."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW,
NEW SERIES.
No. CIII., July 1877.

"The work, when completed, promises to be a valuable collection of materials for a knowledge of Indian Philosophy."

(GERMANY.)

LILERATURZEITUNG.

OF quite another stamp from the introduction is the precisely detailed explanation of the individual Sûtra, which gives the impression of careful working though of native commentaries, which nevertheless occupies an independent position, and which as the means of understanding the Sûtras, is of high importance to us. It must be the result of long and solid preparatory labours. We can, therefore, wish the best success to this meritorious undertaking.

JENA,
4th August 1877. } A. WEBER.

(UNITED STATES, NORTH AMERICA.)

PRINCETON, *July* 31*st*, 1877.

AT a recent Convocation of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, held at the Capital of the State, Albamy, I was invited to address them on the subject of Education in India, and I found an allusion to your personal career and present position, with some quotations from your published writings, well received and useful, in illustrating my points. Accept my best wishes for your highest success in all your literary, philanthropic and reforming efforts. Your mental grasp is vigorous.

R. G. WILDER.

YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN,
January 18, 1878.

I have received several of the successive numbers of your valuable publication, and beg to return my sincere thanks for them. It is a highly laudable undertaking on your part, and does much credit both to the spirit and the character of native Indian scholarship. So far as I can see, the systems of Hindu philosophy are likely to be better understood and made comprehensible to European scholars by those who, like yourself, have added a European training to an

Indian one than by those who have to pursue the contrary course. I wish you all possible success, and shall gladly avail myself of any opportunity to aid you to obtain it.

I am, with high respect,
Yours truly,
W. D. WHITNEY.

(INDIA).

An extract from a letter of Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra—an eminent Philologer and writer on important subjects connected with the history of India.

"I read your *Sad*darshana-Chintanikâ with great interest. The light you throw on the subject by your valuable and learned notes is immense, and does you high honor. The subject is necessarily dry and cannot appeal to the public at large ; but the glory of our past rests on the intellectual heritage which our ancestors have left us, and no true Hindu can neglect the Darshanas without forgetting his nationality. Take away our ancient literature and we fall to the same level with the aboriginal races who have no past to speak of."

Judging from the introduction and the way in which you have dealt with the three preliminary Sûtras of the Mîmânsâ, I am led to expect that your work will be very useful to all students of Indian Philosophy. Please put me down as a subscriber for five copies.

NANABHAI HARIDAS.

THE HINDU PATRIOT.

We have reproduced the review from the Hindu Patriot as it succinctly but exhaustively gives the history of the labours of European and Native scholars in the field of Indian Philosophy.

STUDIES IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

4th June 1877.

WARD, in his account of the Hindus, was the first to bring to the notice of English scholars the first principles of

Hindu Philosophy; but his account was exceedingly brief, and, having been compiled from elementary works, did not, in any way, meet the requirements of European philosophical writers; it was not, therefore, until Colebrooke wrote his remarkable essays on Hindu Philosophy, in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, that European scholars got a really scientific and lucid sketch of what the Hindus had done in the domains of Philosophy. As the works of a ripe scholar and distinguished orientalist those essays were above all praise. They were, however, wanting in one important respect. They gave the substance of Hindu Philosophical ideas in the language of the essayist, but not in their *ipsissima verba*, and in a subject like philosophy, where a great deal depends upon the words used, they could not be utilized for any critical purpose. Raja Ram Mohun Roy's essays on the Vedânta doctrine, supplemented as they were by translations of some of the Upanisads, were better; but they too, were fragmentary. Windischmann's Vedânta-Sâra served only to rouse, but not to satisfy, the curiosity of continental savants, and the first really valuable exposition of Indian Philosophy in English was Colebrooke's translation of the Sânkhya Kârikâ with Wilson's translation of its commentary and his own original commentary on it. This showed how vast and deep had been the researches of the Indian sages in the field of Metaphysics. Even this, however, was deficient in one respect. It was an epitome, and not the original text on the subject. Sometime after, Dr. Muir offered a handsome prize for an essay on the leading systems of Hindu Philosophy, and three competitors appeared on the field. Two of these, Dr. Ballantyne and the Rev. Mr. Mullens carried away the prize, and the third was the Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjea. A great deal of information was brought together in the works of these competitors, and would have proved useful, had the essays not been marred by too strong a spirit of polemical controversy and sectarian zeal. The object which the writers set before them was, not to give a faithful account of Hindu Philosophy, but to display their own powers of ratiocination

in controverting the dogmas of the Hindu sages, and to establish the pre-eminence of Christian Philosophy. Such a course could never satisfy the wants of unprejudiced scholars. It is well-known that of the six leading systems of Indian Philosophy, each has a series of aphorisms or *Memoria teepnica*, which, with their commentaries, form the basis of each school, and as long as those are not brought to the notice of European scholars, so long it is hopeless to expect that fair justice can be done to the intellect of the Hindus as a philosophical nation. To meet this requirement Dr. Ballantyne took in hand those original texts; but, with the profound learning and zeal of German scholars, he was wanting in their perseverance, and, instead of devoting all his energies to one or two particular schools, took up all the six at once, but could not finish any. Of the *Yoga* system he published two chapters; of the *Vedânta* one or two sections; of the *Mîmânsâ* about as much; and of the *Nyâya* a single chapter. And of these he translated only the aphorisms with a very unsatisfactory and meagre abstract of the commentaries; and the aphorisms without their commentaries, proved all but useless. Of the *Sânkhya* he translated the whole of the text; but the commentary was deficient. It is therefore, with much interest we notice that an attempt is being made at Bombay to supply faithful translations into English of all the six texts. The work is to be published under the title of *Saddarshana Chintanikâ* and five fasciculi have been already brought out containing the Sanskrit text with Marâthî and English translations of the *Mîmânsâ* doctrine, together with a commentary in English. If persevered in and the serial be completed, it will be a valuable accession to the library of the oriental scholar. The *Mîmânsâ* is by far the most important in connection with the religion of the Hindus. Its object is to reconcile the *rituals* of Hindu worship and the legends of Purânas with philosophy, and the success with which the reconcilement has been effected by Jaimini is worthy of the highest praise. To quote an instance from the writings of the Mîmânsist:—European writers have,

for a long time, and very justly, condemned the Hindu Shâstras for having attributed to Brahma the odious charge of disgusting incest. The Mîmânsists show that the whole of it is a mere myth. Brahma is but another name for Prajâpati or the Sun, and the Dawn which precedes sun-rise, is poetically and very aptly described as a fair maiden, born of the Sun. Therefore, as the Sun follows the Dawn, it is in poetry described as chasing the maiden, and since the Dawn merges in the Sun as soon as the latter has risen above the horizon, the allegory is complete. Other myths have been treated in the same way, and it is no ordinary praise to say that the Indian gymnosophists, some 2,000 years ago, adopted a line of philosophical argument which would not be unworthy of the greatest German scholars of the present day. The publication of a work of this description, in a language readily accessible to the rising generation of the Hindus, as well as to scholars in Europe, is an attempt which deserves every encouragement and we heartily wish its editor success in his undertaking.

The Native Opinion.

5th August 1877.

The national mind has a great deal yet to do in the way of assimilating the intellectual food so bountifully supplied by the old Sanskrit lore and modern science before it can grow into the manly stature required for original thought and independent investigation. Pûrva-Mîmânsâ, *i.e.*, Jaimini-Sûtras and the Commentaries is not a favourite study with the Native Pandits though they admire it very much. The author has accordingly made a good choice in taking it up first because of all Schools of Philosophy the Mîmânsâ is the least studied, although it is distinguished above all as being the most self-sustained set of doctrines, while *Nyâya* and *Yoga* and the other schools use the principles of the Pûrva-Mîmânsâ as ancillary helps in discussing their own special subjects. We feel convinced that the publication is calculated to be of immense practical value in raising the tone of national thought, and enriching and refining the language.

It should be in the hands of every educated Hindu who aspires to accomplish the study of old Hindu authors. We hope the work will be patronized by all those who can afford to do so.

EDUCATIONAL RECORD.

August 1877.

Mr.——'s "*Sad*darshana-Chintanikâ" has reached its seventh issue, and appears to be winning golden opinions from those best able to pronounce on its merits.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

April 1877.

We think that the work will well supply what many feel the need of—an apparatus for the intelligent study of Hindu philosophy. If the promise of these earlier portions is well maintained, it will prove to be a very important addition to the literature of the subject which it professes to expound.

THE POONA OBSERVER.

24*th March* 1877.

Looking at the Magazine from a purely literary point of view, it evinces very considerable ability. The introductory chapter is particularly interesting and exceedingly well-written; while the plan pursued in analyzing the philosophical systems brought under examination is at once clear and methodical. The succeeding chapters afford an interesting view of Asiatic Psychology, and of the modes of thought and expression peculiar to eastern nations; and we have no doubt that, on that account alone, the work will receive a cordial welcome in the libraries of Oriental scholars and savants.

भवद्भिः समारब्धं षड्दर्शनसंग्रहस्य मुद्रणं समालोच्य ग्रन्थनिर्मातुः शास्त्रीयमहार्हविषयाणां यथार्थत्वमयं हृदयेन मुहुर्मुहुरभिनन्दयामि। यद्यप्यल्पबहुलावकाशेन मया सर्वं न दृष्टं तथापि यावद्दृष्टं तत्रासंगतं न लब्धं, स्याच्चेदपि स्थलविशेषेषु विपरीतार्थप्रत्ययसंभवस्तथापि "गच्छतःस्खलनं क्वापि यत्र क्वचन जायते। हसन्ति दुर्जनास्तत्र समादधति सज्जनाः" इति पद्यार्थमनुसृत्य श्लाघनीयावेव स्यातां ग्रन्थकर्तुः प्रतिभा परिश्रमश्च निर्मलचेतसाम्। किं प्राचीनतममहापण्डितनिर्मितनिबन्धेष्वपि स्थलविशेषे च्युतिर्न लक्ष्यते तावतैव ते किं महार्हरत्नानीव नोपादेयाः। किं मुक्तार्थिभिर्नान्तरीयकतया साहचर्यं प्राप्तैः कतिपयशुक्तिखण्डैरुपसृष्टा लब्धा अपि मुक्तास्त्यज्यन्ते। परंवेदार्थविचारमात्रैकपरस्य पूर्वतन्त्रस्योच्चावचतदनधिकारिजनवेद्यया भाषयावतारणं न युक्तं किंतु तर्कादितन्त्राणामेवेत्यभिनिवेशपिशाच्यद्यापि मच्चेतो न मुंचतीति पुनर्विज्ञापयामि। अलं सुज्ञेषु भूयसा लेखनीव्यापारेणेति॥

संवत् १९३४ अधिक ज्येष्ठ शुद्ध शनौ.

भवदीयसुहृद्
रानडोपनामको बालशास्त्री.

श्रीमद्विविधानवद्यविद्यापांडित्यकोविदं कृष्टे इत्युपनामकं माधवरायामिधं सुहृद्वरं शुभोदर्काभिराशीर्भिरभिनंद्य इदमावेदयामि, अत्रभवद्भिः संप्रेषितपूर्वान् षड्दर्शनचिन्तनिकाभागान् विलोकयितुमवसरः पुत्रकल्पलताग्रन्थनिर्माणव्यापृतमनस्केन मया नाध्यगमि, संप्रति तु समापिततद्ग्रन्थरचनोहमव्यग्रेण चेतसा भवदीयं प्रस्तुतनिबन्धं समालोच्य तत्रत्यां प्रौढोदारविचाररुचिरां रचनामाकलय्य साधारण्येन विश्वजनोपकारकत्वाच्छ्लाघनीयं कृत्यमिदमिति मन्ये।

यद्यपि परमपुरुषार्थनिदानस्य वेदार्थतत्त्वज्ञानस्य मुख्यसाधनं यज्जैमिनीयन्यायदर्शनं तस्य याथातथ्येनावगमाय पूर्णप्रज्ञैर्भट्टकुमारिल-

शवरस्वामिप्रभृतिभिराचार्यैर्मनोज्ञसर्वाङ्गसंपूर्णया गीर्वाणभाषया विरचिता महानिबन्धा एव पर्याप्तास्तथापिलोकविदितया प्रचरन्त्या देशभाषया प्रादुर्भावितेयं षड्दर्शनचिंतनिका पिण्डभूगोलन्यायेन प्रकृतदर्शनदिक्प्रदर्शनाय पर्याप्ता भवितुमर्हत्येव ।

किंचार्यजनैरियं चिन्तनिका स्वधर्मसंबंधिपवित्रविचारभांडारदर्शनकौतुकान् नानाविधन्यायविज्ञानाभिलाषाद् वा ग्रन्थकारपरिश्रमानुरोधाद् वा यथायथं विचार्यावश्यं संभावनीयेत्यलमियता ॥

संवत् १९३४ भाद्रपदकृष्णाष्टम्यामलिखदेतत् ।

भट्ट यज्ञेश्वरशर्मा सुरतकरोपनामा.

भवत्प्रेषितषड्दर्शनचिंतनिकाख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्यालोचनमस्माभिः कृतं। तत्र यदत्संस्कृतभाषया महाराष्ट्रभाषया च लिखितं तत्तद्विशेषकटाक्षितमस्माभिः। भाषासंदर्भमर्थविवेचनं च दृष्ट्वा ऽमोमोदिष्म । संपादितबहुबुद्धिकौशल्यैर्गभीरतमे दुर्गमतमे च वैदिकप्रक्रियाश्रिते श्रौतक्रियान्विते च मीमांसाशास्त्रे ये परिश्रमाः कृतास्ते सफलाः संवृत्ता इति मन्यामहे । भाट्टदीपिकादिशास्त्रेष्वत्यंतपरिशीलनं विना कर्मकांडप्रक्रिया दुर्ज्ञेया । कर्मकांडप्रक्रियाज्ञानं विना पतञ्जलिप्रणीतयोगशास्त्र कृष्णद्वैपायनेवद्व्यासप्रणीतवेदांतशास्त्रादीनां प्रक्रिया च दुर्ज्ञेया । अतो भवदीयपांडित्यावलोकनेन संतुष्टचेतसो वयमियत्यलंपल्लवितेनेति दिक् ।

भवत्सदृशपंडितानामीश्वरानुग्रहेण दीर्घमायुरस्तु ॥

काकाचार्यशास्त्री वायीकर कानडे.

मीमांसाशास्त्रसिंधोर्गभीरत्वात् तदंतस्थन्यायरत्नानि तत्तीरस्थविदुषामपि हस्तग्राह्याणि । कुतस्तरां प्राकृतानां । अधुनातु तदुपरि श्रीमद्भाषांतरादिकृत्या हस्तग्राह्याणि जातानि । इयंतु जनताया महदुपकृतिरेव । इयंतु कृतिर्विद्वन्मान्यैव ॥

नारायणशास्त्री गोखले.

मीमांसाशास्त्रं हि नाम चक्षुरुन्मीलनमज्ञानांधदृशां । भास्करोदयो वेदपथानां । प्रदीपः संशयतिमिरभरसमाक्रांतस्वांतनिशातानां । क्षेत्रं वाक्यार्थविचारौषधीनां । किं बहुना बहुशास्त्रवनवर्धनपर्याप्तप्रसृमरबहुप्रमेयकुल्यं । विबुधहृदयारविंदवृंदसमानंदपदं । अमलमगाधमहासरः। तदेतत् संप्रति बहुकालात् प्रभृति लोकेष्वालस्यजालस्य प्रसराद् वैकविनोदवल्लभवसुधासुधाशनानामनाथभावाद् विद्यादिसत्कार्यसमुत्तेजकार्यमहीक्षितामुपक्षयात् कारणांतरसमवधानाच्च विलुप्तप्रायमभूत् । तदिदमिदानीमायासमंतरेण सकललोकसमालोचनगोचरतां गमयितुं परोपकरणपवित्रेण सुजनहृदयांबुजव्रजविकासनमित्रेणास्मन्मित्रेण कुंठेइत्युपाव्हमहादेवसमाख्येन षड्दर्शनचिंतनिकाख्यमासिकपुस्तकेषु संक्षिप्तसरलसंस्कृतगिरा तत्सारस्य विशेषतो भाषया तत्प्रसारस्य च प्रदर्शनपुरःसरं प्रकटीक्रियते । मुद्रितपुस्तकं च परमपणयप्रवणतया प्रतिमासं तेन मह्यमप्येकमर्प्यते । यद्यपि बहुतरोपरोधपरतंत्रतया मया तानि मुद्रितपुस्तकानि साकल्येन संप्रति नावलोकयितुं मशक्यंत तथापि यावान् भागो निभालितस्तावान् सुकुमारमतीन् प्राकृतानपि शास्त्रोक्तानार्थमवगमयितुं प्रभवतीति प्रतिभाति । स्वप्नेपि मीमांसेत्यक्षराण्यप्यश्रुतवतां संस्कृतगिरमप्यसंगिरमाणानां तदधिकरणकथापथावतरणवितरणशाल्ययं परिश्रमः स्वदेशमुदे शतशो विद्याप्रचाराय प्रवर्तितः केन निर्मत्सरेण नाभिनंद्येत । प्रायेण मुह्यंति हि येलिखंतीति न्यायेन स्थलविशेषेषु स्खलनसंभावना तु प्राक्तनपंडितप्रबंधानप्यालिंगतीति न हि तद्भयादनारंभो मतिमतां संमतिपदं भवितुमर्हति । अनधिकारिकर्तृकवेदार्थविचिंतने तु विधिनिषेधश्रद्धाव्रद्धादरैरस्मादृशैरुदासितव्यं । सर्वथा स्वदेशजनप्रबोधनेजनकरानेवंविधसदुद्योगान् परोपकृतिकृतां सुजनानां कृपाकूपारः परमेश्वरो यथाशास्त्रमर्यादमुत्तरोत्तरमुत्तरंगयत्विति प्रार्थये सकलविद्वज्जनवंशवदः पंचनद्युपाह्वघनश्यामात्मजगोवर्धनशर्मा ॥

श्री गट्टू लालजी.

भवत्कर्तृकां षड्दर्शनचिंतनिकां भूयो मासि मासि लब्धुमिच्छामि। सा हि भूयसा लोकहिताय वर्तते इति मे मतिः ॥

संप्राप्य लंकां परिहृत्य शंकां बौद्धे मते प्रभविधिं विधाय ॥
गृहोन्मुखःपुण्यपुरीं गतः स्वां विजृंभते तत्र हि यः सखा मे ॥१॥
तेन प्रवीणेन महीसुरेण मान्येन मान्यप्रतिमानितेन ॥
मुदा मुदे मे प्रहितानि सम्यक् प्राप्तानि मामत्र तु पुस्तकानि॥२॥
गोष्ठीषु महतां व्यक्तो महाराष्ट्रे महोदये ॥
महादेवश्चिरं जीयात् सूरिवृंदसमादृतः ॥ ३ ॥

श्री सुमंगलो यतीशः ॥

भवदीयमीमांसादर्शनस्थसूत्राणां शाबरभाष्यादिग्रन्थदर्शनेन पाठशोधनपूर्वकं पदतदर्थवाक्यार्थभावार्थानां प्रदर्शनमधुनातनानां तदध्ययनशून्यानामतीवोपकारकमभूतपूर्वं सुबोधं चेत्यवगम्य भृशंतुष्टोस्मीत्यलं विस्तृत्या ॥

गंगाधरशास्त्री दातार.

वि० वि० षड्दर्शनचिंतनिकानामक जो ग्रंथ आपण प्रस्तुत करीत आहां त्याचे सहा अंक आह्मांकडे आपण कृपा करून पाठविले ते आह्मी आदरपूर्वक स्वीकृत केले. या देशांत मीमांसाशास्त्राची अभिरुचि प्रायशः कोणास नसल्यामुळें पठनपाठनक्रम नष्ट होऊन शास्त्र अस्तंगत झालें तरी प्रस्तुत आपण मीमांसाशास्त्राचा अभ्यास करून मोठ्या मेहेनतीनें हा ग्रंथ तयार करीत आहां. याजपासून मीमांसाशास्त्राची माहिती सर्व लोकांस चांगल्या रीतीनें होऊन अस्तंगत झालेल्या शास्त्राचा बराच उदय होत जाईल. शास्त्राची माहिती थोडक्यांत होण्याची जी सरणी काढली आहे त्याजपासून विद्वान् लोकांचा मोठा फायदा आहे. वादविवादक ग्रंथ या शास्त्रांत मोठमोठाले आहेत, परंतु मुलभोपायानें सर्वांस लवकर चांगलें ज्ञान

होण्यासारखा ग्रंथ कोणी विद्वानानें केला नाहीं, यास्तव सर्वोपयोगी हें महत्कृत्य आपण करीत आहां. या कृत्यास श्रीपरमेश्वर यश देवो याविषयीं जगन्नियंत्याची प्रार्थना आम्ही वारंवार करीत आहों. इत्यलं विस्तरेण.

मुक्काम पुणें, ता० ४ जुलई सन १८७७ इसवी. } चिंतामणशास्त्री थत्ते, डेकन कालिज.

षड्दर्शनचिंतनिका आपण चालू केली ती येथें माझें पाहण्यांत आली ती पाहून व तिच्यांतील विषय मराठींत इतका मार्मिकपणें खुलासा केलेला जाणून मला फारच समाधान व आश्चर्य वाटलें; कारण मीमांसेचें तत्वज्ञान असणारे पंडित सांप्रत विरळा. त्यांत तो विषय मराठींत सविस्तर व मनांत येण्याजोगा दृष्टांत वगैरे देऊन उपपादित करणें हें काम अल्पज्ञानाचें नव्हे. हा ग्रंथ पाहतांच तो प्राप्त होण्याची उत्कंठा झाली.

गणेशशास्त्री लेले, मु० नाशिक, रविवारांत.

इंदुप्रकाश.

ता० २६ मार्च १८७७.

या पुस्तकांच्या डावे बाजूस प्रथमतः मीमांसेची मूळसूत्रें, त्याखालीं त्यांची पदें, त्याखालीं पदांचा अर्थ, त्याचेखालीं वाक्यार्थ, व त्याखालीं भावार्थ; खेरीज क्वचित् स्थलीं ज्या सुत्राचा शबरस्वामींनीं निराळा अर्थ केला आहे तोहि लिहिला आहे. उजव्या अंगास सूत्रांचें मराठी व इंग्रजी भाषांतर व त्याखालीं सूत्रार्थाचा विशेष बोध, पूर्वापरसंबंध, मतांतरे व तदनुरोधेंकरून दाखविण्यास योग्य अशी

अनेक प्रकारची शास्त्रीय व उपयुक्त माहिती मराठींत, तशीच इंग्रजींत टिपा देऊन दाखविली आहे.

प्रस्तुत काळीं षड्दर्शनचिंतनिकेसारखें मासिक पुस्तक निघून ते लोकांस स्वल्प किमतीनें मिळणें हें स्वदेशहिताचीं जीं अनेक स्तुत्य कृत्यें आहेत त्यांपैकींच उत्तम समजलें पाहिजे. तशांत राजाश्रय नाहींसा झाल्यापासून आमच्या देशांतील शास्त्राध्ययनावर पाणी पडून ज्या वेदांतादि शास्त्रांचें नांवहि या देशांत राहण्याची मुष्कील झाली आहे, त्यांपैकींच वाक्यार्थाचें मूळ व मुख्य साधन जें हें परम गहन व उपयुक्त मीमांसाशास्त्र त्यांचें भाषांतर होऊन त्याचीं मूलतत्वें व तात्पर्यज्ञान हीं साधारण सुज्ञ जनांस अल्पायासानें होण्यास ही चिंतनिका सर्वोत्कृष्ट साधनीभूत असल्यामुळें इच्या कर्त्यांचे लोकांवर मोठे उपकार आहेत यांत संशय नाहीं. आतां आशा लोकोपकारक स्तुत्य कृत्य आरंभणाऱ्यांस साहाय्य मिळून हें काम शेवटास जावो अशी ईश्वरापाशीं प्रार्थना करून या पुस्तकाचा आम्ही आनंदपुर्वक स्वीकार करितों."

ज्ञानोदय.

ता० १२ जुलई १८७७.

या भाषांतराची व टीकेची भाषा जरी उंच आहे व ठिकाणोठिकाणी संस्कृत शब्द आहेत, तरी भाषा सरळ, प्रौढ व रसिक आहे.

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